

**THE VERBAL SYSTEM IN MASKILIC HEBREW
PROSE FICTION 1857-81**

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University College London
Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD
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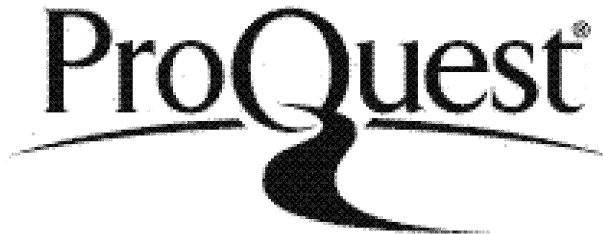
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DECLARATION

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INTRODUCTION

The language of Maskilic Hebrew prose fiction, which flourished in Eastern Europe between the 1850s and the 1880s, is an extremely interesting area of research both because it represents the first attempt to use Hebrew in the creation of European-style novels and short stories (Alter 1988, 4-5; Harshav 1990, 121-2), and because it is in many ways the direct precursor of Modern, or Israeli, Hebrew (Agmon-Fruchtman and Allon 1994, 22). However, despite its significance, thorough linguistic analysis of this type of Hebrew is almost nonexistent. The scholars who have made specific mention of the language of Maskilic Hebrew fiction have usually done so only in passing, and the general consensus has been that it is not a language in its own right but rather a reconstruction of Biblical Hebrew based on the technique of *shibbus*, the embedding of biblical clauses or verses into new texts (Pelli 1993, 99-100), or an amalgamation of biblical and rabbinic sources. For example, Patterson (1962, 311) describes the language of the nineteenth-century Hebrew novel as 'adhering almost exclusively to biblical vocabulary and idiom [...] through a patchwork covering of biblical phrases', Alter (1994, 52) designates the prose fiction of this period as 'a lifeless pastiche of biblical fragments', Mazor (1985, 92) characterises it as 'mostly inflexible, using biblical patterns of speech in a clumsy, clichéd way', Rabin (2000, 82) states that 'biblical ornate prose [...] became the normal idiom of narrative prose' in the late Haskalah, and Shaked (2000, 7-8) says merely that it is 'derived largely from biblical and rabbinical Hebrew'.

The present study seeks to assess the validity of these claims and achieve a more accurate understanding of the nature of Maskilic Hebrew structure by analysing the morphology and syntax of its verbal system. The verbal system of maskilic prose is an ideal area on which to focus as verbs are an extremely significant component of Hebrew grammar and the verbal structure of other historical varieties of the language has attracted a considerable amount of scholarly attention. This analysis will systematically address four key issues that need to be elucidated in order to attain a coherent

picture of the Maskilic Hebrew verbal system. Firstly, it will assess the extent to which Maskilic Hebrew resembles its biblical and rabbinic predecessors and the ways in which the maskilic authors reconciled the wide divergence in use of the verbal conjugations between these two canonical strata of the language. Secondly, it will investigate whether the Maskilic Hebrew verbal system exhibits similarities to medieval varieties of Hebrew or to its authors' own vernacular, Yiddish, and other European languages with which they were intimately familiar. Thirdly, it will point out ways in which Maskilic Hebrew may have contributed to present-day Israeli Hebrew. Finally, it will examine whether the Maskilic Hebrew verbal structure contains features unknown in the other historical forms of the language and determine the extent to which it may be considered a cohesive, independent system rather than a haphazard conglomeration of biblical and rabbinic elements.

Methodology

The corpus

The basis for this study is a corpus of Maskilic Hebrew prose fiction written during the Late (Russian) Haskalah between 1857 and 1881. See Y. Klausner (1947, 135-91), J. Klausner (1952-8), Halkin (1958, 1970), and Patterson (1964a, 1964b, 1988) for detailed surveys of this type of literature. I chose to focus on this writing because of its unusual and cohesive status as a new genre created by a small pool of authors from a single geographical area who moved in the same circles and had common linguistic and literary aims. All of the authors under examination were born and bred in Czarist Russia and the majority of them lived there for the duration of their literary careers. Similarly, they were all the products of traditional Jewish backgrounds and educations and all spoke Yiddish as their mother tongue (Alter 1988, 5, 17). Because of their traditional backgrounds they were all particularly well-versed in the Jewish texts commonly read throughout the year, namely the Pentateuch and *haftarot*, the Five Scrolls, the Psalms, the Passover Haggadah, and the mishnaic tractate *Avot*. In addition, they were generally familiar with Russian, German, and/or Polish (Alter 1994, 50). Finally, they all chose to compose Hebrew short stories

and novels out of a belief that creating a canon of prose fiction in keeping with those extant in the major European languages and embodying maskilic philosophies would help to fulfil their goal of integrating the Ashkenazi Jews into European society (Agmon-Fruchtman and Allon 1994, 17).

The Maskilim advocated the adoption of Biblical Hebrew as the medium of this new didactic literature (Kutscher 1982, 183–4). This position was rooted in the fact that the Bible is the primary Jewish text and that it recalls a period during which the Jews were a strong, independent nation living in their own homeland (Rabin 1973, 60). Thus, while the maskilic authors were well-versed in post-Biblical Hebrew sources such as the Mishnah, Talmud, and medieval commentaries, they generally held these layers of the language in low esteem, both because they believed them to be linguistically impure and flawed (Sáenz-Badillos 1993, 267) and because they associated them with Yiddish (Even-Zohar 1990, 112), the traditional Jewish education system (Alter 1994, 52), and contemporary religious leaders (Alter 1988, 22), which they perceived as serious obstacles to the Jews' enlightenment (Agmon-Fruchtman and Allon 1994, 17; Holtzman 2006, 12–14). However, the maskilic authors' ideological drive to employ only 'pure' Biblical Hebrew was constantly in tension with their intimate knowledge of post-biblical usage and with the fact that their spoken languages, literary influences and subject matter were all European. The present study seeks to elucidate the ways in which this tension manifested itself in the verbal system of the maskilic authors' prose.

The year 1857 was selected as the starting point for the corpus because it marked the publication of the initial instalment of Abraham Mapu's *עניט צבוע* (*The Hypocrite*), which was the second late Maskilic Hebrew novel ever written and the first to be set in contemporary times, and whose form as well as content strongly influenced all subsequent authors of the period (Patterson 1988, 11). The first Hebrew novel of the Russian Haskalah, Mapu's *אהבת ציון* (*The Love of Zion*) published in 1853, was not suitable for inclusion in the corpus because it is set in biblical times and therefore its content and linguistic composition are extremely different from other Maskilic Hebrew fiction. I

chose to exclude texts written after 1881 because that year marks the end of the maskilic era (Halkin 1970, 34; Alter 1994, 42), as well as the beginning of the First Aliyah and revernacularisation of Hebrew (Rabin 1970, 328): at this time many Maskilim became followers of Zionist movements and contributed to the development of the new spoken language in Palestine (Kutscher 1982, 190-4), while the few authors who continued to compose European maskilic-style prose fiction for several more years were no longer part of a widespread, unified movement.

Because the number of Maskilic Hebrew novels and short stories written between 1857 and 1881 is relatively limited, I included as many as possible in the corpus in order to ensure that my analysis of its verbal system would be representative. The corpus consists of forty-nine texts (thirteen novels and thirty-six short stories and novellas) composed by thirty different authors. The majority of texts included in the corpus, whether short stories or novels, were originally published in the literary journals and newspapers of the period. The largest number of texts appeared in the monthly journal *HaShahar*, which was edited in Vienna by the maskilic author Peretz Smolenskin. Other literary journals containing short stories and novels in instalments are the Vilnius-based *HaKarmel* and *HaBoqer Or*, which was published in Lemberg and later Warsaw as a rival to *HaShahar*. The newspapers *HaMeliş* and *HaMagid* are further sources of prose fiction. In addition, a small number of novels were published independently during these years. Most of them are still obtainable and therefore included in the corpus.

The bulk of the texts are original Maskilic Hebrew compositions; however, some are translations or adaptations, predominantly from German texts written by Jewish authors. Furthermore, I. M. Dick's short story has a parallel Yiddish version written by the same author more or less simultaneously. The plots of most of the texts, whether original or translated, centre on issues relevant to the Eastern European Jewish society of the time, for example the clash between Hasidim and Maskilim, Antisemitism and intergenerational conflict. In addition, some stories deal with other Jewish

themes, such as the Sephardim at the time of the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions. Finally, there are some translations of non-Jewish fiction; the most notable of these is Kalman Schulman's extremely popular 1857-60 adaptation of the French novel *Les Mystères de Paris*, which is set in the Parisian underworld.

The present analysis is based on the original editions of these texts except in cases where they are unobtainable and accurate reissues are available. The information regarding the edition used for each work appears in the reference list, and all page numbers mentioned in this study refer to the version listed there.

Thesis structure

Morphology, function, and syntax sections

This study is divided into three chief sections on morphology, function, and syntax respectively. Each section examines the verbal forms attested in the corpus. These consist of the *qatal* (suffix conjugation or perfect), the *yiqtol* (prefix conjugation or imperfect), the *qotel* (form with gender and number suffixes or active participle), the periphrastic constructions consisting of the *qatal* of the root .נ.א.נ followed by a *qotel*, the *wayyiqtol* and *weqatal* (forms with *waw*-consecutive or converted forms), the volitives (cohortative, imperative, and jussive), and the infinitives (infinitive absolute and infinitive construct, with the latter divided into the infinitive with \rightarrow and the infinitive without \rightarrow). I have elected to employ the terms *qatal*, *yiqtol*, *qotel*, *wayyiqtol*, and *weqatal* because they are purely descriptive and devoid of any implicatures regarding the functions of the forms concerned. Conversely, I have chosen to use the terms volitive, cohortative, imperative, jussive, and infinitive because of a lack of accurate, widely accepted descriptive alternatives. This use of terminology is based on Davidson (1994). The division of the infinitives into infinitive absolute, infinitive construct without \rightarrow , and infinitive construct with \rightarrow is based on Schwarzwald (1988-9).

The morphology section is selective, dealing primarily with features which are different in Biblical, Rabbinic, and Medieval Hebrew and where

Maskilic Hebrew a) consistently selects the biblical variant instead of the rabbinic one or vice versa, b) uses the biblical and rabbinic forms in different syntactic or semantic contexts, c) employs a form unknown in Biblical or Rabbinic Hebrew but resembling a variety of Medieval Hebrew, d) uses forms from different historical forms of Hebrew seemingly arbitrarily, or e) employs a form with no precedent in any earlier type of Hebrew.

The function section aims to provide a comprehensive survey of the uses of the various verbal forms in Maskilic Hebrew prose fiction. In this respect it is necessary to distinguish between the basic functions of the verbal forms, which are often very inclusive or unspecified, and the variety of much more specific roles that they fill depending on the context in which they are found on any given instance. While this study occasionally refers to the basic functions of the forms (for example, it asserts that the *qatal* is primarily used for past tense and irrealis), it focuses chiefly on the specific contextual usages (for example, the *qatal* in past progressive settings). It first surveys the uses of the *qatal* and *yiqtol* conjugations respectively in a variety of contexts including indicative, modal, and conditional. The analysis continues with a discussion of the verbal *qotel*. It then discusses the functions of periphrastic forms, the roles of the *wayyiqtol* and *weqatal*, the uses of the cohortative, imperative, and jussive forms, and finally the functions of the infinitives absolute and construct.

The syntax section is not exhaustive, but rather concentrates on the areas in which Maskilic Hebrew verbal sequences and use of verbal particles resemble one historical form of the language instead of another or exhibit independent characteristics. This section includes topics such as the presentation of past and future sequential actions, the negation of the *yiqtol*, *qotel*, and infinitive construct, the imperative followed by ׀, imperative sequences, and the position of infinitives absolute and construct.

Structure of entries

Each section of the thesis is composed of a number of separate entries addressing specific grammatical points. Each entry begins with a description

of the maskilic phenomenon in question as well as a discussion of the conditions and possible explanations for its occurrence, including syntactic and semantic considerations such as word order, distinction between narrative and dialogue, *shibbus*, and the conscious utilisation of particular forms in the representation of colloquial speech. This is followed by relevant examples from the corpus. The examples are reproduced exactly as they appear in the edition of the text shown in the reference list. In a few instances the examples come from a text with a German or French Vorlage that is relevant to the discussion at hand; in such cases the maskilic example is followed by the relevant excerpt from the Vorlage. Because this study aims to present a description of the archetypal characteristics of the maskilic verbal system rather than of marginal phenomena, I have included only forms and usages that appear in the works of at least six different authors. Moreover, in order to ensure representativeness I have drawn more examples from the works of prominent authors such as Mapu, Smolenskin, Gordon, Braudes, and Abramowitz than from those of their lesser-known counterparts. Where relevant, particularly in the function and syntax sections, I include a brief discussion of the English form that most closely parallels the Maskilic Hebrew phenomenon under examination. As the maskilic forms often have a different functional range than their nearest English counterparts, my translation values apply solely to the specific contextual uses in which the forms appear in the corpus. Discussion of English verbal usage is based on Swan (1995) and Huddleston and Pullum (2002).

I follow the presentation of each maskilic phenomenon with a discussion of the corresponding Biblical Hebrew usage, including a description of the verbal form that Biblical Hebrew employs in the context in question, an analysis of the extent to which this resembles or differs from Maskilic Hebrew, and an assessment of possible reasons for these similarities and divergences. I exemplify these points with excerpts from the Hebrew Bible. Analysis of the Biblical Hebrew verbal system is complicated by the fact that there is uncertainty regarding its basic nature: current scholarly opinion is largely divided between the proposal that it is primarily aspectual and the

position that it is chiefly tense-based. Adherents of the aspectual interpretation typically argue that the *qatal* denotes perfectivity and the *yiqtol* imperfectivity. See Waltke and O'Connor (1990) for details; cf. Eskhult (1990), Hataf (1997), Gentry (1998), Cook (2002), and Furuli (2006) for a range of aspectual explanations. Supporters of the tense-based explanation usually contend that the *qatal* represents the past and the *yiqtol* the non-past. See Zevit (1988, 1998), Revell (1989), DeCaen (1995), and Rogland (2003) for details. Moreover, some scholars disagree with both positions: for example, Hendel (1996) suggests that aspect and relative tense are equally fundamental components, while Niccacci (1990, 2002) and Talstra (1997) argue that tense and aspect are functions of clause type and word order rather than categories intrinsic to the conjugations. I generally avoid engaging in these debates except when they have a direct bearing on the maskilic phenomenon under discussion; instead, I concentrate on individual Biblical Hebrew forms and usages as found in specific contexts. I consult traditional works such as Driver (1892), Gesenius (1910), Lambdin (1971), and Joüon (1993), as well as more recent analyses such as those mentioned above. The maskilic authors did not distinguish between the different strata of Biblical Hebrew (Patterson 1988, 93), and therefore my discussion includes relevant phenomena from Archaic, Standard, and Late Biblical Hebrew prose and poetry. However, I focus primarily on Standard Biblical Hebrew prose, and all references to Biblical Hebrew denote this variety unless otherwise stated.

After the discussion of Biblical Hebrew I compare maskilic usage with that of Rabbinic Hebrew, including the language of the Mishnah, Tosefta and associated tannaitic literature, as well as the Palestinian and Babylonian Talmud. I first describe the Rabbinic Hebrew form used in the context under discussion, then evaluate its similarities to and differences from the maskilic corpus, and finally suggest possible reasons for any links or incongruities between the two types of Hebrew. I illustrate the discussion with examples drawn from the rabbinic corpus. I have based my discussion of rabbinic morphology and syntax on secondary literature, most commonly Segal (1927), Sharvit (1980, 2004), Haneman (1980), Mishor (1983), Azar (1994), and Pérez

Fernández (1999). While most of these studies focus primarily on Mishnaic rather than Talmudic Hebrew, in most cases the two varieties of the language resemble each other (Breuer 2002, 15), and therefore I do not usually treat them separately. However, when there is a clear divergence between the tannaitic and amoraic corpora I address each one individually.

In some cases maskilic usage resembles neither Biblical nor Rabbinic Hebrew but bears similarities to a form of Medieval Hebrew, typically Palestinian Paytanic Hebrew, Responsa literature, or biblical commentaries; in such instances I mention and illustrate the medieval phenomenon for comparison. Discussion of Medieval Hebrew is based on the work of Yeivin (1996), Betzer (2001), and Rand (2006). I omit examination of Medieval Hebrew in cases where this form of the language does not differ from Biblical or Rabbinic Hebrew or where no secondary literature is available.

Similarly, some aspects of maskilic verbal syntax appear to lack precedent in earlier forms of Hebrew but share characteristics with the authors' native Yiddish. In such cases I present and exemplify the relevant Yiddish usage and analyse its resemblance to Maskilic Hebrew. The data on the function and syntax of Yiddish verbs derives primarily from Mark (1978), Rockowitz (1979), Katz (1987), Schaechter (2003), and Jacobs (2005). In several instances another language such as German, Russian, or Polish may be relevant to the discussion as well and is mentioned briefly.

After examination of the languages that have informed the Maskilic Hebrew verbal system, I compare each maskilic phenomenon with present-day Israeli Hebrew. This comparison is particularly significant because, although in many cases Israeli Hebrew usage resembles its biblical and/or rabbinic predecessors rather than or in addition to the maskilic corpus, on several occasions Maskilic and Israeli Hebrew mirror each other while differing from earlier forms of the language, suggesting a possible maskilic influence on present-day usage. As in the case of earlier forms of Hebrew and Yiddish, the Israeli Hebrew information is based on secondary literature, most frequently the works of Berman (1978), Glinert (1989, 2005), Schwarzwald (1980, 1981, 1988-9, 1994, 2001, 2002), and Coffin and Bolozky (2005).

All Biblical Hebrew, Rabbinic Hebrew, and Medieval Hebrew examples are based on the manuscripts and printed editions reproduced in the *Global Jewish Database* (Bar-Ilan University 2007). English translations of all Hebrew, Yiddish, French, and German examples are my own unless otherwise stated and are idiomatic rather than literal. Literal explanations and additional information on the translation are supplied when pertinent to the grammatical issue under examination. The stylistic conventions of the thesis conform to the fifteenth edition of the *Chicago Manual of Style* (University of Chicago Press 2003).

I MORPHOLOGY

1 QATAL

1.1 *Nitpa'el*

Many *qatal* verbs in the present corpus appear in the *nitpa'el* conjugation, a variant of the *hitpa'el* common in the rabbinic period but unknown in Biblical Hebrew. *Nitpa'els* are attested much less frequently than *hitpa'els*, but are distributed throughout the corpus in the works of most authors. These *nitpa'el* verbs, like their *hitpa'el* counterparts, convey intransitive actions that often have a passive or reciprocal element. In many cases the *nitpa'el* forms in the maskilic corpus have exact parallels in the Mishnah, Talmud, or other rabbinic literature. Moreover, many of the *nitpa'el* forms appearing in the corpus lack *hitpa'el* equivalents in the Hebrew Bible altogether and therefore it is likely that the maskilic authors employed the *nitpa'el* in these cases because this was the only form of the particular verb in question that was familiar to them. For example, (2) contains both a *nitpa'el* and a *hitpa'el*, and while the root of the *nitpa'el* is unattested as a *hitpa'el* in the biblical corpus, that of the *hitpa'el* has a precise biblical equivalent. In contrast to certain other tannaitic and amoraic features attested in the corpus, for example the *qotel* ending in *nun* (see 3.1) and the rabbinic infinitive construct forms (see 6.1.5), the use of the *nitpa'el* in any given instance does not seem to be motivated by any obvious semantic factors. The form appears frequently in narrative, as in (2), in addition to direct speech, as in (1), (3), and (4), and therefore cannot be said to symbolise spoken language.

(1)

"[...] סדרי הטבע נשתנו [...]"

'[...] the natural order has changed [...]' (Meinkin 1881, 109)

(2)

גם הגברים הזקנים אשר נתאלמנו זה ימים רבים ואשר חכו רק על יום מותם התפקדו

Even the old men, who had been widowed for a long time and who were only waiting for their death, turned up (Dick 1867, 322)

(3)

"[...] יצר לי שלידי נתגלגל החוב להודיעך [...]"

'[...] I'm sorry that I've ended up with the obligation to inform you [lit: the obligation has rolled into my hands] [...]' (Gordon 1874a, 67)

(4)

"[...] נחלשה דעתי ונזדעזעו אברי [...]"

'[...] my mind was weakened and my limbs shook [...]' (Mapu 1857-69, 235)

While the biblical *hitpa'el* is equivalent in meaning to the post-biblical *nitpa'el*, the particular verbs found in maskilic fiction as *nitpa'els* are not usually attested as *hitpa'els* in the biblical corpus. When a given root has a biblical *hitpa'el*, the maskilic authors tend to use this variant in their own writing instead of a *nitpa'el*. This phenomenon can be seen by comparing the *hitpa'el* from (2) with the identical form in (5). Moreover, the infrequent maskilic *nitpa'el* forms with biblical *hitpa'els* of the same root often have different meanings than the corresponding biblical *hitpa'els*. For example, while the *nitpa'el* נשתנה in (1) is attested in 1 Kings as a *hitpa'el*, as in (6), the maskilic *nitpa'el* means 'change' whereas the biblical form means 'disguise oneself' (Brown, Driver, and Briggs 1906, 1040). However, on extremely rare occasions maskilic *nitpa'els* correspond in meaning to biblical *hitpa'el* forms, as comparison of (3) with (7) illustrates.

(5)

וַאִישׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל הַתְּפִקְדוֹ לְבַד מִבְּנֵימִן אַרְבַּע מֵאוֹת אֶלֶף אִישׁ

And the men of Israel apart from Benjamin mustered four hundred thousand men (Judg. 20:17)

(6)

וַיֹּאמֶר יִרְבֵּעָם לְאַשְׁתּוֹ קוּמִי נָא וְהַשְׁתַּנִּיתִי וְלֹא יָדְעוּ כִּי אֶת אִשְׁתּוֹ יִרְבֵּעָם

Then Jeroboam said to his wife, 'Go and disguise yourself, so that they will not know that you are Jeroboam's wife (1 Kings 14:2)

(7)

תחת שֶׁאָה הַתְּגִלְלוּ

Amid the ruins they roll in (Job 30:14)

In Rabbinic Hebrew the biblical *hitpa'el* has with few exceptions been replaced by the *nitpa'el* (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 98). Segal (1927, 64) argues that the emergence of the *nitpa'el* stem is the result of a synthesis of the *hitpa'el* with the *nif'al*, whereby the preformative *nun* of the latter became associated with the idea of passivity and reflexivity in speakers' minds and was prefixed to the former. The *qatal* is generally the only conjugation in which a distinction between the *hitpa'el* and *nitpa'el* is visible, though there are some instances of the *nun* preformative remaining in the *qotel* as well (Mishor 1983, 194-5). These rabbinic and maskilic phenomena overlap except for the fact that the maskilic authors restrict their use of the *nitpa'el* to the *qatal* conjugation. (8) and (9) contain forms illustrating the similarity between Rabbinic and Maskilic Hebrew. The form appearing in (8) is almost identical to that shown in (2), while the *nitpa'el* in (9) resembles that of (4). Moreover, the form in (1) may be traceable to the similar phrase *מה נשתנה* in the Passover Haggadah.

(8)

אומדין כמה אדם רוצה ליתן בכתובתה של זו שאם נתאלמנה

They estimate how much a man would be willing to pay for her *ketubbah* if she were widowed (Mishnah *Makkot* 1:1)

(9)

באותה שעה נזדעזע ארונו של יוסף

At that moment Joseph's coffin shook (Babylonian Talmud *Sotah* 13a)

While the *nitpa'el* stem does exist in Israeli Hebrew (Bolozy, forthcoming, 1), it is used only infrequently compared to the *hitpa'el*: it is largely restricted to writing and, more rarely, the speech of television and radio broadcasters (Shatil 2007, 105). It is distinguishable from the *nitpa'el* solely as a *qatal* (Glinert 1989, 473; Shatil 2007, 107).

(10)

"[...] הוא נתבקש לעבור בדיקה [...]"

'[...] he was asked to undergo an examination [...]' (Ashkenazi 2007)

1.2 *Pu'al*

Pu'al forms sometimes appear in the corpus in the *qatal* conjugation. Such *pu'als* are attested only in past tense settings, as shown in (1)-(3). This usage fits in with the general maskilic treatment of the *qatal* as a marker of past action (see 7.1 for details of this tendency). *Pu'al* verbs are attested relatively often as *qatals* in the works of most authors. They are found both in narrative, as in (1) and (2), and in dialogue, as in (3). They are most frequently 3ms, as in (1) and (2), but other persons are attested, as in (3). All of these forms are translatable with an English past tense passive construction.

(1)

"טוב אפוא", ענה הגראף אשר מצחו קמט

'All right, then,' answered the count, whose brow was furrowed (Brandstädter 1875, 672)

(2)

פתאם כמו רוח ממרום שלח בו

Suddenly it was as if a spirit from above were sent through him (Frischmann 1878, 159)

(3)

"[...] כבר נִשְׁיָתָם במסה [...]"

‘[...] you have already been tested [...]’ (Smolenskin 1873, 592)

Biblical Hebrew *pu’al* forms are sometimes attested as *qatal*s, and most of the maskilic *pu’als* found in this conjugation have precise equivalents in the biblical corpus. Comparison of (2) with (4) exemplifies this correlation. The form is relatively uncommon in both types of Hebrew. This may be the result of a general tendency to avoid passive verbs in narrative (O. Schwarzwald, personal communication). These factors suggest that the maskilic authors were influenced by biblical precedent in this respect.

(4)

וְשָׂרֵי בִישָׁשָׁכָר עִם דְּבוֹרָה וַיִּשָּׁשְׁכָר כֹּן בָּרָק בְּעֶמֶק שְׁלַח בְּרָגְלָיו

And the chiefs of Issachar were with Deborah; and Issachar, as Barak, was sent after him (Judg. 5:15)

In Mishnaic Hebrew the *pu’al* generally appears only as a *qotel*, though a few isolated *qatal*s are attested (Segal 1936, 116; Haneman 1980, 29), as shown in (5). In most cases, *pu’als* in past contexts are immediately preceded by a *qatal* of the root ה.י.ה, as in (6). In amoraic literature the use of the *pu’al* is more common, but still limited (Sharvit 2004, 89). The restricted role of the rabbinic *pu’al* and the fact that the maskilic forms are not usually traceable to tannaitic or amoraic literature suggests that the maskilic usage is based on biblical precedent.

(5)

גִּדִּישׁ שְׁלֹא לֹקֵט תַּחְתִּיו כָּל הַנוּגַע בְּאֶרֶץ הָרִי הוּא שֶׁל עֲנִיִּים

If gleanings have not been taken from beneath a heap of grain, whatever touches the ground belongs to the poor (Mishnah *Pe’ah* 5:1)

(6)

אִם הָיָה מִפְּחוֹר בַּמְדּוּכָה טָהוֹר

If it was mashed in the mortar, it is clean (Mishnah *Ṭevul Yom* 2:3)

Israeli Hebrew *pu'al* forms can appear as *qatals* in past tense settings (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 91). This usage resembles both Biblical and Maskilic Hebrew.

(7)

הם בוטלו

They were cancelled (Glinert 2005, 54)

2 YIQTOL

2.1 *Apocopated yiqtol in indicative contexts*

Apocopated *yiqtol* forms from *lamed he* roots are occasionally attested in the corpus in indicative contexts with a variety of tense values including past, as in (1), immediate present, as in (2), and habitual present, as in (3). They may be rendered into English using the past, present or future depending on the context; some of the possibilities can be seen in the English translations of (1)-(3). Such verbs can be contrasted with the small number of similar forms found in jussive contexts (see 12.3.1). There is no clear syntactic or semantic explanation for the occasional selection of these forms, as unapocopated *yiqtols* appear much more frequently in similar contexts with the same tense values. These particular forms do not have any apparent precedent in earlier forms of Hebrew and thus do not constitute instances of *shibbus*. Nevertheless, the fact that they appear in works by many different authors suggests that they are unlikely to be mere aberrations. Therefore they may be examples of original maskilic usage. However, the authors' motivation for employing them is unclear and possibly nonexistent.

(1)

אקו לאור ואין

I hoped for light but there was none (Gordon 1874b, 7)

(2)

אך נראה מה תעש פינעליע כעת

But let's see what Finelia is doing now (Meinkin 1881, 20)

(3)

" [...] בטרם ישקנה דודה מנשיקות פיהו תכס בצעיף פניה [...]"

' [...] before her beloved kisses her she covers her face with a scarf [...]'

(Abramowitz 1862, 42)

In Biblical Hebrew imperative, jussive, and *wayyiqtol* forms of *lamed he* roots frequently undergo apocopation (Joüon 1993, 1:206-7); however, it is very uncommon for this to happen in other settings, such as the ones found in the present corpus where they have neither jussive nor imperative sense and are not preceded by the *waw*-consecutive. (4) and (5) illustrate the difference between standard biblical usage and those discussed above. There are nevertheless cases, particularly in poetic passages and Late Biblical Hebrew, of apocopated *yiqtol*s without the *waw*-consecutive in indicative contexts; these typically follow the *waw*-conjunctive, but can occasionally be unprefixes (Qimron 1986-7, 148, 158), as in (6). It is possible that this phenomenon had some bearing on the maskilic forms; however, the fact that the Hebrew Bible contains only 21 indicative unprefixes apocopated *yiqtol*s as opposed to approximately 1,100 unapocopated ones (Qimron 1986-7, 155) and that the maskilic forms are not examples of *shibbus* from these 21 cases means that such influence is unlikely to have been considerable.

(4)

וַיִּבְנוּ מִגְדָּל בְּתוֹכֹוּ וְגַם יָקַב חֶצֶב בּוֹ וַיִּקְוּ לַעֲשׂוֹת עֲנָבִים וַיִּנְעֹשׂ בְּאֲשֵׁים

And he built a tower inside it, and he hewed a winepress in it as well, and he hoped to grow grapes but instead he grew wild grapes (Isa. 5:2)

(5)

אַל תִּשְׁלַח יָדְךָ אֶל הַנֶּעֱר וְאַל תַּעַשׂ לוֹ מֵאֻמָּה

Do not raise your hand to the boy and do not do anything to him (Gen. 22:12)

(6)

תִּרְאֵהוּ אֲשֶׁקֶלֶון וְתִירָא

Ashkelon will see and fear (Zech. 9:5)

Rabbinic Hebrew does not employ the apocopated *yiqtol* forms of *lamed he* roots with the exception of a few archaizing cases (Haneman 1980, 32-3; Pérez Fernández 1999, 122), such as that shown in (7). No forms

corresponding to the indicative apocopated *yiqtol*s found in the maskilic corpus are attested in rabbinic literature.

(7)

אל תעש עצמך כעורכי הדיונין

Do not make yourself like the counsels (Mishnah *Avot* 1:8)

Palestinian Paytanic Hebrew sometimes utilises the short form of the *yiqtol* in indicative contexts (Rand 2006, 140-1). Thus it is possible that this maskilic phenomenon, like that discussed in 6.1.4, can be attributed in some measure to Paytanic Hebrew; however, it is difficult to determine conclusively the extent of such influence.

Israeli Hebrew does not generally utilise the apocopated *yiqtol* (Muraoka 1998, xxix). An exception to this trend is the Hebrew folksongs composed in Palestine during the first half of the twentieth century, in which such forms are attested (Reshef 2004, 20, 122), as illustrated in (8). Thus in this regard the similarity between Maskilic and Israeli Hebrew is negligible.

(8)

ליבנו יגל לך הסוד

Our heart will reveal the secret to you (Reshef 2004, 122)

2.2 *Pu'al*

The corpus contains a number of *pu'al* forms in the *yiqtol* conjugation. Such forms are not attested as frequently as *qatal pu'als* but are employed by a variety of authors. *Yiqtol* forms in the *pu'al* stem can have a variety of values, typically present, future, and modal; their usage is thereby in keeping with that of the maskilic *yiqtol* in general. This point is illustrated in (1), (2), and (3), which contain *yiqtol pu'als* indicating a future prediction, habitual action, and possibility respectively. These forms are translatable with an English passive form in the appropriate tense.

(1)

"[...] כי המורדים יאספו אסיר אל בור [...]"

'[...] for the rebels will be gathered into a pit [...]' (Smolenskin 1867, 22)

(2)

"[...] בבתי חזיון ישלם כסף, בעד חזיון נפלא כזה [...]"

'[...] in theatres money is paid for such a wonderful play as this [...]'
(Shulman 1873, 85)

(3)

על איש כזה על נקלה יפותו גם אוהבי השכלה לתת אמון בו

Even followers of the Haskalah can easily be tempted to place their trust in such a man (Neiman 1878, 322)

Although the Biblical Hebrew *pu'al* stem most frequently occurs as a *qotel* (Jenni 1973, 66), it is attested as a *yiqtol* as well. The biblical and maskilic corpora seem to correspond in this respect, as both can employ the *pu'al* as a *yiqtol* but neither does so with great frequency. Some maskilic *pu'al* forms appearing as *yiqtols* often have exact parallels in the Hebrew Bible, as comparison of (2) with (4) illustrates; however, others, such as that shown in (1), appear to lack biblical precedent.

(4)

בְּזֶלְזָל יִחַדְּךָ לֹא וְיָרָא מִצְוָה הוּא יִשְׁלָם

One who scorns a precept will come to harm, but one who respects a commandment will be rewarded (Prov. 13:13)

In Mishnaic Hebrew the *pu'al* stem is almost never employed in the *yiqtol* conjugation (Bar-Asher 1985, 80); only one example, shown in (5), is attested, and even this may be a corruption of an original *pi'el* (Yalon 1964, 144; Haneman 1980, 197; Breuer 2002, 191). *Pu'al* forms in future contexts usually appear as *qotels* in conjunction with an initial *yiqtol* of the root ה.י.ה, as in (6). In Talmudic Hebrew the *pu'al* is used more frequently, but is still

comparatively restricted (Sharvit 2004, 89). Thus in this regard it appears that the maskilic authors were primarily influenced by their biblical model, though it is possible that the few rabbinic *yiqtol pu'als* reinforced their tendency to employ the form. Additionally, certain maskilic *yiqtol pu'al* forms have parallels in, and may therefore have been inspired by, Medieval Hebrew sources. Comparison of (3) with (7) illustrates this.

(5)

נטמאו הבעלים או שמתו תעובר צורתו

If its owners became impure or died, its appearance must be ruined (Mishnah *Pesahim* 7:9)

(6)

כדי שלא יהיו מעורבין

In order for them not to get intermingled (Mishnah *Midot* 2:5)

(7)

במהירות יפותו לזה

They are quickly tempted towards it (Ralbag Prov. 14)

Israeli Hebrew utilises the *pu'al* in the *yiqtol* conjugation in future contexts (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 91). This practice resembles that found in the maskilic corpus, except for the fact that the maskilic forms can have present and past interpretations as well as future ones.

(8)

הטקס ינוהל בעברית ובערבית

The ceremony will be conducted in Hebrew and Arabic (Chayat, Israeli, and Kobliner 2001, 379)

2.3 *Qal yiqtol with holam*

Certain 2fs, 2mp, and 3mp *yiqtols* are attested in the corpus as *tiqtoli*, *tiqtolu*, and *yiqtolu*, with the long vowel *holam* in the second syllable. These variants

occur much less frequently than the standard forms *tiqtli*, *tiqtlu*, and *yiqtlū*, with a schwa in the second syllable. The masculine forms are more common than the feminine ones. They are unevenly distributed, occurring in the middle of clauses and sentences as well as at the end. They do not necessarily seem to signal a break in the text as they do not always precede commas or full stops, which are the maskilic authors' standard means of indicating pauses. The verb shown in (1) corresponds precisely to forms found in the Hebrew Bible, whereas those in (2)-(4) do not have biblical parallels and thus their appearance in the corpus cannot be ascribed to the technique of *shibbus*. The seemingly haphazard dispersal of these forms suggests that they are a purely random occurrence with no particular syntactic or semantic significance. However, the long forms are attested only in conversations or first-person narrative monologue resembling direct speech, and this raises the possibility that the authors knowingly employed them in an attempt to create a natural, vernacular feel to their characters' dialogue and perhaps to draw attention to the word in question as if the stress of the sentence were falling on it. While there is no clear difference in translational value between the long *yiqtol* forms and their short counterparts, if the selection of a long form carries the semantic nuance of heightened importance or stress in pronunciation, the English equivalent of such a verb might be italicised or otherwise given prominence in the sentence.

(1)

"[...] עוד ימים רבים יעבורו, שנים ינקופו ויאקוב לא ישיג מאווי לבו [...]"

'[...] many more days will pass, years will go by and Yakub will not get his heart's desire [...]' (Braudes 1873, 17)

(2)

"[...] בוחריהם ינקוטו בפניהם וינהמו באחריתם [...]"

'[...] and those who voted for them will grow sick of them and regret it [...]'

(Gordon 1874b; 7)

(3)

”אל נא תחרוצו משפט מות לאיש”

‘Please do not condemn the man’ (Smolenskin 1867, 34)

(4)

”[...] אליך תשוקתו ואף תמשולי בו [...]”

‘[...] he will desire you and you will dominate him [...]’ (Brandstädter 1871, 55)

The long form of 2fs, 2mp, and 3mp *yiqtol* verbs has numerous attestations in Biblical Hebrew. However, in contrast to the maskilic corpus, the biblical long forms are found only in pause, signalling a division in the text or the end of a verse (Gesenius 1910, 127). (5) and (6) illustrate this point as well as the form found in both the Bible and maskilic literature.

(5)

קפו שנה על שנה חגים יקפו

Add year to year; let festivals come in their cycles! (Isa. 29:1)

(6)

וילנו שם לילה ויעברו

And they spent the night there before they went on (Josh. 3:1)

Rabbinic Hebrew employs the long *yiqtol* forms only pausally, i.e. at the end of a clause or sentence (Segal 1927, 71-2; Haneman 1980, 41; Sharvit 2004, 54). In this regard rabbinic language resembles its biblical predecessor. The forms appearing in the present corpus do not have exact parallels in rabbinic literature. This suggests that although Rabbinic Hebrew might have played some role in the maskilic authors’ occasional use of long *yiqtol*s, its influence was not great as it did not contribute to the selection of particular forms or to a similarity in syntactic usage.

(7)

אם טמאים להן אינו צריך לעמוד עליהם עד שיטבולו

If they regard them as impure, one does not need to stand over them until they are immersed (Mishnah *Taharot* 10:3)

Israeli Hebrew does not employ the long 2fs, 2mp, or 3mp *yiqtol* and is therefore incomparable with the maskilic corpus in this respect.

2.4 Second and third person feminine plural *yiqtol* forms

The corpus invariably employs the specific 2fp and 3fp forms of *yiqtol* verbs when referring to two or more feminine subjects. The 2fp form is attested only rarely, but the 3fp form appears relatively frequently. The authors' use of these forms does not seem to carry any particular semantic significance or affect the translation value of the verbs in question.

(1)

"[...] טוב כי תעבורנה מזה תצאנה מאת פני העיר, ונסתרתן [...]"

'[...] it's best if you leave this place, leave the city, and hide [...]' (Fuenn 1872, 468)

(2)

"[...] ושתיהן תצחקנה מחסידים ומהצדיק."

'[...] and they both laugh at the Hasidim and the *saddiq*.' (Meinkin 1881, 37)

Biblical Hebrew generally utilises the 2fp and 3fp *yiqtol* forms with reference to feminine subjects in the same way as the present corpus, as shown in (3) and (4). This similarity is clearly the result of the maskilic authors' desire to recreate biblical usage in their writing. The fact that the authors adhere to this practice so consistently is noteworthy given the fact that the Hebrew Bible itself contains several instances of masculine plural *yiqtol*s in conjunction with feminine plural subjects (Segal 1936, 123), as in (5).

(3)

וַתֹּאמֶר נָעֲמִי שׁ־בָּנָה בְּנֹתַי לָמָּה תֵּלְכֶנָּה עִמִּי

But Naomi said, 'Go back, my daughters; why should you go with me?' (Ruth 1:11)

(4)

מִיָּמִים וּמִיָּמָה תֵּלְכֶנָּה בָּנוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל לְתַנּוֹת לְבַת יִפְתָּח

From year to year the daughters of Israel went to lament the daughter of Jephthah (Judg. 11:40)

(5)

הַשְׁבַּעְתִּי אֶתְכֶם בָּנוֹת יְרוּשָׁלַם [...] אִם תִּעְרִירוּ וְאִם תִּעְוְרוּ אֶת הָאֱהָבָה

I adjure you, daughters of Jerusalem [...] do not awaken or arouse love (Song of Sol. 2:7)

Rabbinic Hebrew contrasts with biblical and maskilic literature as it does not make use of these feminine *yiqtol* forms (Schwarzwald 1981, 15; Pérez Fernández 1999, 106), with the exception of a few forms appearing in biblical citations (Segal 1927, 71). The 2mp and 3mp forms are employed instead with feminine plural subjects, as in (6).

(6)

רבי יהודה אומר הנשואות יתארו

Rabbi Yehudah says that the women who were married can get engaged (Mishnah *Yevamot* 4:10)

Israeli Hebrew occasionally employs the 2fp and 3fp *yiqtol* forms (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 39), as in (7) and (8). However, it usually avoids them and instead uses masculine forms in conjunction with feminine subjects. (9) and (10) illustrate this trend. The modern form of Hebrew thus tends towards the rabbinic model in this respect, though it possesses the option of using the biblical and maskilic forms.

(7)

אתן תקומו

You [fem. pl.] will get up [m. pl.] (Glinert 2005, 37)

(8)

הן יקומו

They [fem. pl.] will get up [m. pl.] (Glinert 2005, 37)

(9)

אתן תפעלנה

You [fem. pl.] will do [fem. pl.] (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 39)

(10)

הן תפעלנה

They [fem. pl.] will do [fem. pl.] (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 39)

2.5 *Yiqtol instead of yiqtal in the qal*

The *yiqtol* of second-radical guttural *qal* roots typically takes the form *yiqtal*, with a *pataḥ* as the stem vowel, as in (1). However, some such roots take the form *yiqtol*, with a *holam*. This phenomenon extends to roots such as *ל.מ.ד.* and *ש.ב.ל.*, whose *yiqtol* forms are generally constructed in the same way as those with a second-radical guttural. This variant is attested in the majority of texts in the corpus. Its appearance does not seem to depend on any particular syntactic factors. It is attested only in dialogue, which might suggest that the maskilic authors may have intended it to serve a semantic function. However, no such motivation is clearly evident: its selection cannot be interpreted as an attempt to convey the feel of uneducated Yiddish speakers because it appears in the speech of cultured Maskilim and non-Jewish nobility; similarly, it does not seem to be a mechanism for indicating heightened emotion or dramatic intonation because the variant with a *pataḥ* sometimes appears in similar settings such as that of (1). Rather, the authors may have employed it in order

to create an element of distinction between spoken language and narrative without necessarily desiring to convey any particular register or sociolinguistic gradation.

(1)

"[...] הטרם תדע כי נמחץ רגלינו בדם חללים [...]"

'[...] do you not know yet that we will stamp our feet in the blood of the dead [...]' (Smolenskin 1867, 12)

(2)

"[...] הוא יכזב בהנסיון ויטעון נגד החוש [...]"

'[...] he succumbs to the temptation and argues against sense [...]' (Abramowitz 1862, 40)

(3)

"[...] לא ילבוש רק קרעים [...]"

'[...] he wears nothing except rags [...]' (Shulman 1873, 105)

(4)

"[...] אשכונה בארץ אשכנז ואלמד לדעת את רוח יושבי בה [...]"

'[...] I will live in Germany and learn to understand its inhabitants [...]' (Leinwand 1875-6, 1:3)

(5)

"[...] לא אגעור עוד בך [...]"

'[...] I won't rebuke you any more [...]' (Braudes 1873, 35)

(6)

"[...] באגרופ ברזל אמחץ ואהלוס ראשי הקושרים [...]"

'[...] I will smash and pound the heads of the conspirators [...]' (Smolenskin 1867, 27)

The Biblical Hebrew verbs with second-radical gutturals usually have a *pataḥ* as their stem vowel (Joüon 1993, 1:182). Second-radical guttural roots whose *yiqtol* has a *holam* are extremely rare (Gesenius 1910, 169). One such form is shown in (7). The roots appearing in the maskilic corpus with a *holam* do not have parallels in the Hebrew Bible; the biblical *yiqtols* from these roots consistently take *pataḥ*, as exemplified in (8) and (9). These facts suggest that the maskilic phenomenon discussed above does not have its origins in the Hebrew Bible.

(7)

נָפַשׁ כִּי תַמְעַל מַעַל וְחָטְאַה בְּשִׁגְגָה מִקֹּדֶשׁ יְהוָה וְהֵבִיא אֶת אֲשָׁמוֹ לַיהוָה אֵיל תָּמִים

When someone commits a trespass, and unwittingly sins regarding one of the Lord's holy things, he shall bring as his guilt-offering to the Lord a ram without blemish (Lev. 5:15)

(8)

אֲנִי אֶלְהִים יִמְחֹץ רֹאשׁ אֹיְבָיו

Indeed God will smash the heads of His enemies (Ps. 68:22)

(9)

וְהִיְתָה עִמּוֹ וְקָרָא בּוֹ כָּל יְמֵי חַיָּיו לְמַעַן יִלְמַד לִירְאֶה אֶת יְהוָה

Let it be with him and let him read from it all his life, so that he may learn to fear the Lord (Deut. 17:19)

Rabbinic Hebrew *yiqtols* of second-radical guttural roots frequently have a *holam* instead of a *pataḥ* as their stem vowel (Haneman 1980, 104-5), as in (10). This trend occasionally extends to other roots whose *yiqtol* form more typically has a *pataḥ* as their stem vowel (Haneman 1980, 107), as in (10) and (11). Most of the maskilic instances discussed above have a precise equivalent in rabbinic literature, which strongly indicates that the maskilic forms were taken directly from the Mishnah and Talmud.

(10)

גזירה שמא יטעון ויאמר לו : אחר שבועה מצאתיה

We are afraid lest he make a claim, saying to him, 'I found it after [the] oath'

(Babylonian Talmud *Baba Meši'a* 35a)

(11)

ילבוש כלי פשתן

Let him wear linen garments (Babylonian Talmud *Hullin* 84b)

(12)

אבל לא ילמוד בהן בתחלה

But he must not study from them at first (Mishnah *Baba Meši'a* 2:8)

As in Mishnaic and Talmudic Hebrew, in the language of medieval rabbinic literature the *yiqtol* form of second-radical guttural and associated roots often has a *holam* as its stem vowel (Betzer 2001, 54). Some maskilic *yiqtols* with a *holam* instead of a *pataḥ* that lack precedent in Rabbinic Hebrew have an exact equivalent in a medieval text, as comparison of (5) and (13) illustrates. This may suggest that medieval literature influenced the maskilic corpus in this respect.

(13)

ואגער לכם את זרע השדה

And I will rebuke the seed of your field (Rashi Mal. 2:3)

Israeli Hebrew *yiqtols* from second-radical guttural and associated roots always have *pataḥ* as their stem vowel (Schwarzwald 2002, 42-4; Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 59-60), as in (14). None of the maskilic forms with *holam* discussed above has a parallel in the modern language.

(14)

הוא ילמד לחשוב

He will learn to think (Chayat, Israeli, and Kobliner 2001, 116)

(15)

הוא יפתח את הספרים הקלסיים

He will open the classic books (Chayat, Israeli, and Kobliner 2001, 116)

2.6 *Yiqtol with energetic nun*

Some of the *yiqtol* forms in the corpus have a 3ms or 3fs object suffix with an energetic *nun*. Such forms are found in both narrative and discourse, as in (1) and (2) respectively. There is no indication that they have any particular syntactic or semantic significance as variants with non-energetic suffixes appear much more frequently in similar contexts; therefore forms with an energetic *nun* do not have a different translation value than their unsuffixed counterparts. However, some of the maskilic corpus' *yiqtol*s with energetic suffixes have precise equivalents in biblical verses and thus most likely constitute instances of *shibbus*. Comparison of (1) with (3) illustrates this phenomenon. Such cases are particularly common in Smolenskin's work. However, some of the *yiqtol*s with energetic suffixes in the corpus, most frequently in Mapu's, Braudes', Leinwand's, and Abramowitz's writing, have no biblical parallels and are rather original elements. (2) constitutes such a case.

(1)

ומי הוא האכזר אשר לא יעירו לבבו

And who is the cruel person whose heart would not rouse him (Smolenskin 1867, 8)

(2)

"[...] אעלה בכסלון ואקיצנה [...]"

'[...] I shall go up to Kesalon and wake it up [...]' (Abramowitz 1862, 70)

Biblical Hebrew *yiqtol* and imperative forms with third person masculine and feminine object suffixes sometimes appear with an energetic *nun* (Van der Merwe, Naudé, and Kroeze 1999, 91). The significance of this *nun* is

unclear: Van der Merwe, Naudé, and Kroeze (1999, 91) believe that it has no semantic value, while Zevit (1998, 63) argues that it serves to indicate urgency. Alternatively, the choice of an energetic suffix may be rooted in stylistic considerations such as the desire for variation (Williams 1972, 84-5). Conversely, Revell (1989, 16) proposes that the energetic *nun* is usually suffixed to *yiqtol*s with indicative rather than modal value. Thus, although the maskilic phenomenon discussed above was clearly inspired by its biblical predecessor, it exhibits two significant differences. Firstly, the maskilic selection of energetic suffixes does not appear to be predicated on stylistic, semantic, or syntactic concerns, and secondly, many of the maskilic energetic forms have no precise equivalent in the biblical corpus.

(3)

לא אֶכְזֹר כִּי יַעֲרִיבּוּ

There is no one so fierce as to rouse him (Job 41:2)

While Rabbinic Hebrew tends to utilise the direct object particle *אֶת* with pronoun suffixes more frequently than object suffixes, when it does elect to employ a 3ms or 3fs object suffix in conjunction with *yiqtol* verbs it frequently chooses the energetic variant (Segal 1927, 95). The choice of an energetic suffix does not appear to be semantically or syntactically motivated. The rabbinic use of energetic suffixes thus resembles that of the maskilic corpus as both employ these forms indiscriminately. However, none of the maskilic *yiqtol*s with energetic suffixes has precise equivalents in the Mishnah or Talmud, and this supports the proposal that the authors of the present corpus did not base their constructions on pre-existing forms. Moreover, the maskilic texts differ from Rabbinic Hebrew in that they can employ the energetic suffixes in conjunction with *wayyiqtol*s while tannaitic and amoraic literature lack this construction.

(4)

לא יִסְפִּידֵנוּ קֹדֶם לְרַגְלֵי שְׁלֹשִׁים יוֹם

He may not eulogise him for thirty days before a holiday (Mishnah *Mo'ed Qatan* 1:5)

Object suffixes on verbs are restricted to the formal registers in Israeli Hebrew (Glinert 1989, 158). However, the energetic suffixes are sometimes employed in such settings (Schwarzwald 2001, 40), as in (5). This practice resembles the maskilic phenomenon but is extremely limited in comparison.

(5)

אלמדנו

I will teach him (Even-Shoshan 2004, 1178)

2.7 *Yiqtol with paragogic nun*

The standard forms of the maskilic 2fs, 2mp, and 3mp *yiqtol* are *tiqtli*, *tiqtlu*, and *yiqtlū* respectively. However, a substantial number of 3mp and a small number of 2mp and 2fs *yiqtol*s throughout the corpus are attested with a paragogic *nun*. 3mp forms appear in (1) and (2), a 2fs form is shown in (3), and a 2mp form can be seen in (4). The use of *yiqtol*s with a paragogic *nun* does not seem to be restricted to any particular syntactic settings, as they are found in the middle and end of clauses, as in (1)-(2) and (3)-(4) respectively. Moreover, they appear in both narrative, as in (1), and dialogue, as in (2)-(4). The selection of these forms appears to be arbitrary, as standard *yiqtol* forms are often employed in similar positions. Thus there appears to be no difference in translation value between forms with a paragogic *nun* and those without it. Some of these *yiqtol*s have identical counterparts in, and were therefore most likely taken directly from, the Hebrew Bible; comparison of (1) and (4) with (5) and (6) illustrates this practice. However, other maskilic *yiqtol*s with paragogic *nun* have no biblical equivalents. (2) and (3) constitute such cases.

(1)

כלם ייחלון בכליון עינים

They were all waiting breathlessly (Smolenskin 1867, 24)

(2)

"על מה ירמזון מליך?"

'What are your words hinting at?' (Brock 1877, 115)

(3)

" [...] האם תשתגעין, מרים!"

'[...] are you going crazy, Miriam!' (Gordon 1872, 35)

(4)

"אך מדוע תחרישון? [...]"

'But why are you silent? [...]' (Leinwand 1875-6, 1:68)

In Biblical Hebrew the paragogic *nun* is attested on 3mp *yiqtol*s and, more rarely, on 2mp and 2fs *yiqtol*s (Waltke and O'Connor 1990, 516). Instances of *yiqtol*s with the paragogic *nun* are far less frequent than those without it: there are 304 with the *nun* as opposed to more than 6,600 lacking it (Hoftijzer 1985, 2). While the precise function of the paragogic *nun* is unclear, some trends can be identified. Firstly, they often occur in pause (Hoftijzer 1985, 98); secondly, they appear more frequently in earlier texts (Waltke and O'Connor 1990, 516). Hoftijzer (1985, 55) proposes that while such forms do not always have a particular semantic function, on many occasions in prose they indicate 'constrativity': contradictions, unexpectedness, and deviations from the norm. In light of these points, comparison of the biblical phenomenon with that appearing in the present corpus strongly indicates that the maskilic authors employed paragogic forms only in imitation of biblical or other classical texts and that they were not meant to play a specific semantic role: this argument is supported by the fact that the maskilic forms appear in the middle of sentences and do not seem to indicate contrast. (5)-(7) illustrate these points (see Hoftijzer 1985, 12-3 for a discussion of how these instances indicate 'constrativity').

(5)

אֶלֵי אֲיִים יִקְווּ וְאֶל זְרָעִי יִיחַלּוּ

The coastlands will trust in Me and hope for My arm (Isa. 51:5)

(6)

יְהוָה יִלָּחֶם לָכֶם וְאַתֶּם תִּהְיוּ שָׁמָּה

The Lord will fight for you, but you will remain silent (Exod. 14:14)

(7)

עַד מָתַי תִּתְחַבֵּא

How long will you hide? (Jer. 31:21)

Rabbinic Hebrew occasionally employs the paragogic forms for stylistic reasons (Pérez Fernández 1999, 122). These constitute the desire to imitate the form of a *yiqtol* with a paragogic *nun* in an immediately preceding biblical citation, in divine utterances, in oath formulas, and in biblical excerpts (Mishor 1983, 93-4). Such instances appear to be relatively uncommon and are attested mostly in midrashic literature rather than the Mishnah or Talmud. The rabbinic motivation for employing paragogic forms does not correspond to that of the maskilic corpus. Moreover, none of the rabbinic *yiqtols* with paragogic *nun* is attested in the maskilic corpus. Thus the rabbinic phenomenon does not seem to have exerted any considerable influence on the maskilic practice.

(8)

כִּשְׁלֹא תַעֲנֹן אֶת הַדִּין לֹא יִהְיוּ נְשִׁיכֶם אֶלְמָנוֹת וּבְנֵיכֶם יְתוּמִים, כִּשְׁתַּעֲשֹׂן אֶת הַדִּין עַל אַחַת כְּמָה וְכָמָה

When you do not obey the Law your wives will not be widows and your sons will not be orphans, how much the more so when you do obey the Law (Horovitz 1960, 314)

Israeli Hebrew *yiqtol* forms never have a paragogic *nun* ending; the present-day form of the language has thus not been influenced by maskilic literature in this respect.

3 QOTEL

3.1 Masculine plural suffix with *nun*

Masculine plural *qotel* forms in the corpus usually end with a *mem*, but they are attested with a final *nun* on several occasions in the writing of many authors. This variant, which is unknown in Biblical Hebrew but common in Rabbinic Hebrew and Aramaic, appears in both direct speech and narrative. In some cases the authors may have selected it because they associated Rabbinic Hebrew and Aramaic with the Yiddish vernacular spoken by Jews such as those depicted in their fiction. There appears to be precedent for such a technique: Even-Zohar (1986, 52) argues that maskilic authors sometimes used Aramaic vocabulary as a way of evoking the feel of Yiddish while avoiding direct recourse to it. There is another possible semantic layer as well. The Maskilim considered Yiddish the uncultured dialect of the uneducated Eastern European Jewish masses; therefore, the fact that in Gordon (1874b) the educated maskilic protagonist never employs the *nun* variant, while characters portrayed as backwards and unrefined use it several times, may indicate a conscious desire on the part of the author to employ this variant as a way of signalling uneducated speech. This is exemplified in (1). However, in other cases, including several in Gordon (1874a, 1874b), the *nun* variant is attested in narrative and as such cannot be said to have any particular motivation. The existence of such *qotels* suggests either that the authors did not employ the *nun* variant consistently or that they did not have semantic considerations in mind at all when selecting it. (3) and (4) illustrate this phenomenon. This lack of consistency is particularly striking in (4), in which the *nun* variant appears immediately adjacent to a *mem* variant.

(1)

"השמות הקדושים שאינם נמחקים?" "שאינם נמחקין ואינם נקראין [...]"

'The holy names that cannot be erased?' 'That cannot be erased and cannot be read out [...]' (Gordon 1874b, 10)

(2)

”[...] זקוקין דנורא יוצאין משפתי הצדיק [...]”

‘[...] sparks of fire are coming out of the holy man’s lips [...]’ (Brandstädter 1872, 390)

(3)

המונים יושבים בבתי המשקים מסובין אל השולחנות ומוזגין להם כוס אחר כוס

Crowds sit in the taverns reclining at the tables and pouring themselves glass after glass (Gordon 1874a, 34)

(4)

ומאבסין גם מלעיטים אותן בשבולת שועל ואחר ישחטון

And they feed and fatten them with oats and then slaughter them (Dick 1867, 305)

In Biblical Hebrew the *qotel* masculine plural ends in *mem* (Bendavid 1971, 476), as in (5). The *nun* variant is not attested.

(5)

וַיְהִי הִמָּה הַלְכִים הָלוֹךְ וְדֹבֵר וְהִנֵּה רָכֵב אֵשׁ וְסוּסֵי אֵשׁ

And as they were walking along talking, a fiery chariot with fiery horses suddenly appeared (2 Kings 2:11)

In Rabbinic Hebrew masculine plural *qotel* forms can end in either *mem* or *nun* (Pérez Fernández 1999, 129). Some of the precise *qotels* found in the maskilic texts appear in rabbinic literature, and these may have informed the authors’ choice to some degree even if they had other conscious motivations as discussed above.

(6)

יש שמות שנמחקין, ויש שמות שאין נמחקין

There are names that can be erased, and names that cannot be erased (Babylonian Talmud *Shavuot* 35a)

(7)

אין נקראין שחורי הראש אלא אנשים

Only men are called 'black-haired' (Mishnah *Nedarim* 3:8)

(8)

מאימתי קורין את שמע בערבית

From when may the *Shema* be recited in the evening? (Mishnah *Berakhot* 1:1)

(9)

כל העם מסובין על הארץ

All the people recline on the ground (Mishnah *Sanhedrin* 2:1)

The Israeli Hebrew masculine plural *qotel* ends in *mem* (Schwarzwald 1994, 84), as in (10). The maskilic phenomenon discussed above has no parallel in the modern language.

(10)

הם עובדים בחריצות רבה

They work very diligently (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 213)

4 WAYYIQTOL AND WEQATAL

4.1 *Wayyiqtol*4.1.1 *Unapocopated wayyiqtol of lamed he roots*

Although the majority of the 3ms *wayyiqtols* of *lamed he* roots in the corpus undergo apocopation, there are substantial numbers of such forms that remain unapocopated. Although it is theoretically possible to interpret these verbs as *yiqtols* following a *waw*-conjunctive, such a reading appears unlikely because many of these unapocopated forms are found in narrative settings indicating that they are best interpreted as *wayyiqtols*: they immediately follow *qatals* with past-tense value and seem to convey punctual actions comprising part of the main storyline rather than durative ones. The authors' selection of apocopated as opposed to unapocopated forms appears to be unsystematic, with both alternatives found in the same syntactic positions such as following an initial *qatal*; thus the use of the unapocopated variants does not seem to affect the translation value of the verbs in question. However, some of the particular roots in question closely resemble *yiqtols* preceded by the *waw*-conjunctive found in Medieval Hebrew texts, and it is thus possible that the maskilic authors were inspired by a false analogy with these forms and incorporated them into their own writing as *wayyiqtols* without altering them to bring them into conformity with the biblical apocopation rule. This possibility will be further discussed below.

(1)

בחפזה פתח את הדלת ויעלה במעלות

Hurriedly he opened the door and went up the stairs (Braudes 1873, 22)

(2)

אריה נאלם דומיה בפעם שנית וכסה פניו בדיים

Aryeh fell silent for the second time and covered his face in his hands
(Abramowitz 1862, 63)

(3)

בפעם הזאת התעורר ויענה בקול מוזר : "אפסה כל תקווה"

This time he stirred and answered in a strange voice, 'All hope is lost'
(Smolenskin 1873, 682)

Most Biblical Hebrew *lamed he* 3ms *wayyiqtol*s are apocopated, but the final *he* is retained on occasion (Qimron 1986-7, 149; Revell 1988, 420). Some of the forms found in the maskilic corpus have biblical parallels and thus appear to be instances of *shibbus*; comparison of (1) with (4) illustrates this point. However, most of the maskilic forms lack precedent in the biblical corpus and therefore appear to be original constructions created under the possible influence of post-biblical sources.

(4)

ויעלה עמרי וכל ישראל עמו מגבתון

And Omri went up from Gibbethon with the rest of Israel (1 Kings 16:17)

*Yiqtol*s of *lamed he* roots are generally unapocopated in Rabbinic Hebrew. However, the *waw*-consecutive is not used in this form of the language (Haneman 1980, 31); therefore, unapocopated rabbinic *yiqtol*s cannot be equated with the unapocopated *wayyiqtol*s found in the maskilic corpus. However, the authors' familiarity with these rabbinic *yiqtol*s may have occasionally caused them unintentionally to leave their own outwardly identical *wayyiqtol*s unapocopated. (5) contains a rabbinic *yiqtol* preceded by the *waw*-conjunctive that outwardly mirrors the form in (2).

(5)

בית שמאי אומרים יחפור בדקר ויכסה

The School of Shammai say, he may dig with a pick and cover it up (Mishnah *Beṣah* 1:2)

The *wayyiqtol* and *weqatal* are not employed in standard Israeli Hebrew (Schwarzwald 1994, 109). Thus Israeli Hebrew is not comparable to maskilic fiction in this regard.

4.1.2 *Unapocopated third person hif'il wayyiqtol*

Although 3ms and 3fs *hif'il* verbs in the corpus often appear without a *yod* before the final root letter when prefixed by the *waw*-consecutive, on numerous occasions they retain it. (1) illustrates a 3ms unapocopated *wayyiqtol*, while (2) contains a 3fs form. The authors' selection of an apocopated or unapocopated form in any given instance appears to be arbitrary as neither form is employed consistently in any specific context: both variants appear in narrative and dialogue, as in (1) and (2) respectively; moreover, the same root can be attested in both apocopated and unapocopated form, as comparison of (1) and (3) illustrates. The use of these forms does not seem to affect the translation value of the verbs concerned.

(1)

ידעתי, חמדת לבבי! ידעתי, ענה העלם ויביט בעיניו המלאות אהבה בפני הנערה

'I know, my beloved! I know,' answered the youth and looked at the girl's face with his eyes full of love (Braudes 1873, 17)

(2)

מארינקא קראה את המכתב ותאיץ לבוא לווען

Marinka read the letter and rushed to Vienna (Fuenn 1872, 298-9)

(3)

מקול מצעדי האיש הבא אל הבית הקיץ דוד כישן ממזמותיו ויבט מאחריו

From the sound of the steps of the man entering the house David awoke from his schemes as if from sleep and looked behind him (Abramowitz 1862, 37)

In Biblical Hebrew 2ms, 2fs, 3ms and 3fs *hif'il wayyiqtol*s typically appear without the final *yod* (Gesenius 1910, 147). Thus the biblical and maskilic corpora do not correspond in this respect as the biblical vowel loss is

much more widespread than its maskilic counterpart: in the former the vowel hardly ever appears, while in the latter it is preserved in a significant number of third person singular *hif'il wayyiqtol* forms. Moreover, the forms retaining the vowel in the present corpus appear without it in the Bible, suggesting that the maskilic authors did not base their work on the biblical model in such cases but rather attempted to recreate a biblical *wayyiqtol* without taking the concomitant vowel loss into account. (4) and (5) illustrate typical biblical apocopated *hif'il wayyiqtol* forms. Comparison of (4) with its unapocopated counterpart from the same root in (1) makes the contrast in this regard between the two types of Hebrew particularly clear.

(4)

וַיִּבֹט הַפִּלִּשְׁתִּי וַיִּרְאֶה אֶת דָּוִד וַיִּבְזֶהוּ

When the Philistine saw David, he scorned him (1 Sam. 17:42)

(5)

וַתֵּרָא הַמֹּתֶה אֶת אֲשֶׁר לִקְטָה וַתּוֹצֵא וַתֵּתֶן לָהּ אֶת אֲשֶׁר הוֹתִירָה מִשְׁבָּעָה

Then her mother-in-law saw what she had gathered, and she took out and gave her what was left over (Ruth 2:18)

Rabbinic Hebrew does not utilise the *waw*-consecutive and therefore it is difficult to draw parallels between this form of the language and the maskilic phenomenon discussed here. However, as in the case of maskilic unapocopated *lamed he wayyiqtol*s, it is possible that the maskilic authors' creation of these unapocopated *hif'il wayyiqtol* forms was informed to some degree by the existence of superficially identical rabbinic *yiqtol* forms. (6) exemplifies a rabbinic *yiqtol* resembling the verb in (1).

(6)

וְהָיוּ מְשַׁלְּכִים עָלָיו שִׁירִין וְקַטְלִין וְנוֹמִים וְטַבְעוֹת כְּדִי שִׁתְּלֶה עֵינָיו וַיִּבִּיט בָּהֶן

And [they] would throw bracelets and necklaces and nose-rings and rings at him so that he might raise his eyes and look at them (Bereshit Rabbah 98:18)

The *wayyiqtol* construction is not employed in Israeli Hebrew, and thus the modern language is not comparable with that of the maskilic corpus in this respect.

4.1.3 *Wayyiqtol with energetic suffix*

Many of the *wayyiqtols* in the corpus with 3ms and 3fs direct object suffixes are attested with an energetic *nun*. Such forms are less common than their non-energetic counterparts. As in the case of *yiqtols* with energetic suffixes, these *wayyiqtols* appear in both narrative, as in (1) and (2), and direct speech, as in (3). There do not appear to be any semantic or syntactic factors triggering their use, as non-energetic suffixes are attested in similar contexts; while it is possible that the energetic variants are designed to highlight the verbs in question, the contexts in which they are found do not clearly support such an interpretation. (1)-(3) illustrate this point, as the energetic forms do not seem to denote particularly significant elements in the sentences concerned.

(1)

פתאום כמו רוח ממרום שלח בו, נגש ויברכנה בברכת שלום

Suddenly, as if a spirit from above had gone through him, he approached her and greeted her (Frischmann 1878, 159)

(2)

וימהר אביה ויקחנה על זרעותיו

And her father quickly took her into his arms (Berman 1861, 334)

(3)

"[...] ואנכי קמתי מפניה ואושיבנה על מקומי [...]"

'[...] and I stood up and seated her in my place [...]' (Mapu 1857-69, 229)

Biblical Hebrew typically employs the energetic suffixes in conjunction with *yiqtols* and imperatives rather than *wayyiqtols* (Joüon 1993, 1:172). Thus

the maskilic corpus deviates significantly from its biblical predecessor in this regard as it makes frequent use of energetic suffixes combined with *wayyiqtol*. Comparison of (2) with (4) illustrates this difference: (2) contains a *wayyiqtol* with energetic suffix, whereas (4) contains a *wayyiqtol* of the same root with a standard suffix. This difference appears to constitute an instance of the maskilic authors taking a biblical form and applying it, whether consciously or unintentionally, in an original context. The fact that the maskilic use of the energetic suffixes with *wayyiqtol*s is unlikely to have semantic force may indicate this innovation was subconscious.

(4)

וַיִּשְׂלַח יָדוֹ וַיִּקְחֶהָ

And he stretched out his hand and took it (Gen. 8:9)

Rabbinic and Israeli Hebrew do not possess the *wayyiqtol* construction and therefore cannot be compared to the maskilic corpus regarding this issue.

4.1.4 *Wayyiqtol with paragoric he*

A small number of the first person *wayyiqtol* forms in the corpus are attested with a paragoric *he* resembling that found on cohortative forms. Such forms are found only in direct speech, and this raises the possibility that the *he* ending is employed on certain specific occasions in order to attempt to impart a colloquial flavour to the utterance by drawing attention to the *wayyiqtol* as if the speaker were placing particular stress on it. Alternatively, as this is a biblicalising form the authors may have used it as a marker of elevated or educated speech. However, the lack of such forms in narrative may be explicable solely by the fact that first person forms in general are characteristically limited to direct speech; moreover, many of the attested forms have parallels in the Hebrew Bible and therefore the selection of the *he* suffix may in some instances solely constitute instances of *shibbus* without any underlying semantic significance.

(1)

"[...] וימצא געל חן בעיני, כי היה בכל דרכיו משכיל, ואדברה על לבו לבחור לו אשת חיל [...]"

'[...] I liked Ga'al, for he was enlightened in all ways, and I advised him to find a virtuous wife [...]' (Mapu 1857-69, 218)

(2)

"[...] מצפון נשב רוח קר, פי פערתי ואשאפה אותו את קרבי [...]"

'[...] a cold wind blew from the north; I opened my mouth and gasped it in [...]' (Abramowitz 1862, 35)

(3)

"מחלה קשה עברה על נפשי ואשכבה חולה [...]"

'A terrible disease overtook me and I lay ill [...]' (Brandstädter 1878, 644)

In Biblical Hebrew the *wayyiqtol* is occasionally attested with paragogic *he*; this is particularly common in later books such as Daniel, Ezra and Nehemiah (Joüon 1993, 1:141). The semantic value of this biblical form is unclear: although Gesenius (1910, 134) suggests that it may in some cases be attributable to a desire for 'emphasis of expression', Joüon (1993, 1:141) argues that it is devoid of meaning. Comparison of (1) and (2) with (4) and (5) illustrates the frequent formal correspondence between Biblical and Maskilic Hebrew in this respect. However, in some cases, such as that appearing in (3), the present corpus lacks biblical precedent and thus such forms appear to be original creations rather than *shibbus*. Finally, the semantic function of the paragogic *he* is uncertain in both biblical and maskilic corpora.

(4)

והנה כדמות בני אדם נגע על שפתי ואפתח פי ואדברה

And then a being resembling a human touched my lips and I opened my mouth and spoke (Dan. 10:16)

(5)

פִּי פָעַרְתִּי וְאָשְׁאָפָה כִּי לְמִצְוֹתֶיךָ יְאֻבְחֵי:

I opened my mouth and gasped, because I longed for Your commandments
(Ps. 119:131)

Rabbinic and Israeli Hebrew do not employ the *wayyiqtol* construction and as such cannot be compared with the maskilic corpus in this regard.

5 VOLITIVES

5.1 *Cohortative*

Singular and plural cohortative forms are very frequently attested throughout the corpus, as illustrated in (1) and (2) respectively. These forms are used in a variety of contexts (see 12.1).

(1)

”[...] אז אשובה אל כל חמודות לבי [...]”

‘[...] then I will return to all that is dear to my heart [...]’ (Braudes 1873, 24)

(2)

”[...] ומדוע אנחנו יושבים פה, נקומה נלכה אל אמסטרדאם [...]”

‘[...] so why are we staying here; let’s go to Amsterdam [...]’ (Fuenn 1873, 107)

The singular and plural cohortative forms are features of Biblical Hebrew (Joüon 1993, 1:138), as illustrated in (3) and (4). The maskilic cohortative is directly traceable to the authors’ biblical model.

(3)

אזכרה נגינותי בלילה

I remember my song at night (Ps. 77:7)

(4)

נלכה דתניה

‘Let’s go to Dothan’ (Gen. 37:17)

The cohortative is not a feature of Rabbinic Hebrew (Haneman 1980, 31; Sharvit 2004, 48). In this respect the maskilic authors appear to have based their usage solely on the biblical corpus.

Israeli Hebrew differs from the maskilic corpus in that it does not employ the cohortative except in certain extremely restricted, high-register contexts (see 12.1.4 for details).

5.2 *Imperative*

5.2.1 *Feminine plural imperative*

The corpus consistently employs the feminine plural imperative when the speaker is addressing two or more female listeners. This practice is in keeping with the maskilic authors' consistent utilisation of the 2fp and 3fp *yiqtol* forms and appears to be devoid of semantic overtones such as the desire to convey a particular register of speech.

(1)

"אביגיל ומרים קומנה לכה לאכול [...]"

'Abigail and Miriam, come on, go eat [...]' (Schulman 1857-60, 3:18)

(2)

"סלחנה לי גבירותי"

'Excuse me, ladies' (Gordon 1861, 297)

Biblical Hebrew makes use of dedicated feminine plural imperative forms when referring to female addressees. This practice identically mirrors and therefore clearly inspired the maskilic usage illustrated above.

(3)

וַתֹּאמֶר נָעֲמִי לְשֵׁתֶי כָּל־תִּיהָ לָכֶנָּה שׁוּבוּנָה אִשָּׁה לְבֵית אִמָּהּ

Naomi said to her two daughters-in-law, 'Go, return, each of you to her mother's house' (Ruth 1:8)

Rabbinic Hebrew does not employ the feminine plural imperatives (Bendavid 1971, 477; Pérez Fernández 1999, 151). The only exception to this is one intentionally biblicising form in the Parma manuscript (Haneman 1980, 35). Indeed, commands issued to two or more female addressees are

extremely restricted in the rabbinic corpus: they are limited to the forms shown in (4) in which the masculine plural is employed, possibly because the attached object suffixes preclude utilisation of the feminine forms. In this regard the maskilic corpus unfailingly follows biblical rather than rabbinic convention.

(4)

ואמר לאמו ולאשתו ורחצוה וסכוה וקשטוה ורקדו לפנייה

And he said to his mother and his wife, 'Wash her and anoint her and adorn her and dance before her' (Schechter 1887, 133)

In Israeli Hebrew the feminine plural imperative forms are occasionally employed in high-register contexts but in other settings their masculine equivalents are frequently used instead (Schwarzwald 2001, 39). (5) contains the masculine variant in conjunction with feminine addressees in an informal written context, while (6) illustrates the feminine form. In this regard maskilic and Israeli Hebrew correspond only partially, as the maskilic authors employ only the feminine imperative whereas the modern language does so only in certain formal circumstances.

(5)

הקשיבו נא לי, בנות ישראל הצנועות

Please listen to me, modest daughters of Israel (Berkovitch 2004)

(6)

קומנה

Stand up (Glinert 2005, 39)

5.2.2 *Masculine singular imperative with he suffix*

Some of the masculine singular imperative forms in direct speech portions of the corpus are attested with a *he* suffix. This variant appears much less frequently than its unsuffixed counterpart but is distributed throughout the

corpus in the works of many authors. The reason for the authors' utilisation of this suffix in certain instances is unclear. It does not seem to be predicated on syntactic concerns such as the presence of another element in the sentence, given that in some cases it is directly followed by the precative particle *na* while in others it stands alone. Comparison of (1), which contains the particle, with (2)-(4), which lack it, illustrates this point. Similarly, it is difficult to determine whether the authors employed the suffix in order to convey any specific meaning. Most of the imperatives in question have precedent in Biblical Hebrew, and this suggests that the authors may have used the forms solely because they were familiar with them from this source. However, some of the maskilic forms, such as that shown in (1), lack biblical equivalents, and the fact that the authors sometimes generated original suffixed forms may mean that they had a conscious motivation. It is possible that they suffixed the *he* in the cases in question out of a desire to impart a feeling of urgency or intensity to the imperatives and thereby replicate the rhythm of emotional spoken language. Alternatively, they may have used the suffix as a way of signalling politeness towards the addressee. Finally, the authors did not necessarily have any particular semantic considerations in mind when selecting these suffixes; rather, they may have adopted them unsystematically in an attempt to lend a biblical flavour to their writing, even if the particular forms that they employed did not always stem from the Hebrew Bible itself.

The difficulty in pinpointing the semantic force of the suffix precludes designation of a precise translation value. In many cases it may be best rendered into English with 'please', which can be used to convey both politeness and urgency; alternatively, it may be left untranslated, particularly if Fassberg's interpretation of the biblical suffix (discussed below) is applied.

(1)

"[...] בואה-נא עמי החדרה [...]"

'[...] please come with me into the room [...]' (Mapu 1857-69, 218)

(2)

"הגידה לי אחי, מה מלאכתך ומאין תבוא?"

'Tell me my brother, what is your occupation and where do you come from?'

(Berman 1861, 271)

(3)

"[...] הניחה לי אדוני ללכת הלאה [...]"

'[...] let me go on, Sir [...]' (Frischmann 1878, 159)

(4)

"[...] שובה למנוחתך!"

'[...] go back to your rest!' (Braudes 1873, 25)

Biblical Hebrew masculine singular imperatives are sometimes attested with the *he* suffix. Many scholars are unsure or dismissive of the semantic function of this lengthened form: Van der Merwe, Naudé, and Kroeze (1999, 150) state that its role is unclear, while Waltke and O'Connor (1990, 571) argue that it is most likely no different in meaning from its unsuffixed counterpart, as both occur in similar settings. Davidson (1994, 81) concurs with the latter reading, but adds that it may once have signalled 'subjective emphasis on the part of the speaker'. In contrast to these views, Shulman (1996, 250) and Fassberg (1999, 13) propose that the long variant is usually employed when the command is directed towards or for the benefit of the speaker, whereas the unsuffixed form indicates action directed towards others. Examination of the contexts in which the biblical lengthened imperative is found seems to support this analysis. Shulman's and Fassberg's interpretation may be applicable in some measure to maskilic literature but does not provide an explanation for all of the suffixed imperatives attested in the corpus. For example, while the commands in (1)-(3) designate actions directed towards the speakers, that of (4) does not. This suggests that the maskilic authors may have been influenced to some extent by this biblical pattern; however, they

were unlikely to have employed it consciously and certainly did not do so consistently.

(5)

אֶת אֲחֵי אֲנֹכִי מִבְּקֶשׁ הַגִּידָה נָא לִי אֵיפֹה הֵם רֹעִים

'I am looking for my brothers; please tell me where they are pasturing' (Gen. 37:16)

Rabbinic Hebrew does not employ the *he* imperative suffix except when imitating biblical usage or in set liturgical contexts (Mishor 1983, 156; Pérez Fernández 1999, 151). Therefore the use of the suffix in the present corpus is clearly not a result of rabbinic influence.

Israeli Hebrew does not employ the *he* suffix on imperatives of any kind and as such cannot be compared to maskilic writing in this respect.

5.2.3 *Unapocopated hif'il imperative*

Although the masculine singular *hif'il* imperative forms in the dialogues of maskilic fiction typically conform to the imperative pattern with a *se* as their stem vowel, on occasion they resemble the *yiqtol* instead with a *yod* - representing a *hireq* - as their stem vowel. This variant is distributed throughout the corpus. The selection of one form instead of the other on any given occasion appears to be random rather than syntactically or semantically motivated. It may be ascribable to an occasional confusion on the part of the authors between the *yiqtol* and imperative forms resulting in a fusion of the two. Alternatively, it may be the result of a conscious or subconscious drive on the part of the authors to simply elements of the verbal system. These forms have the sense of second person commands and are translatable with English imperatives (see 12.2 for details on the uses of the maskilic imperative).

(1)

"[...] הכון לקראת בת ידידיה והסיר את זכר העלמה העניה מלבך."

'[...] prepare yourself for Yedidiah's daughter, and erase the memory of the poor girl from your heart' (Shulman 1873, 29)

(2)

"[...] הדליק נא את הנר [...]"

'[...] please light the candle [...]' (Abramowitz 1862, 68)

(3)

"האמין לי כי לא מנעתי מחפצך לוא ידעתי [...]"

'Believe me that I would not have prevented your desire had I known [...]' (Smolenskin 1867, 21)

In Biblical Hebrew masculine singular imperatives of the *hif'il* stem typically have a *se* as their stem vowel (Van der Merwe, Naudé, and Kroeze 1999, 85). While a variant with a *hireq yod* is attested in the biblical corpus, this is extremely uncommon and may constitute mistaken vocalisation (Joüon 1993: 1:162). On one occasion a maskilic *hif'il* imperative corresponds precisely to a biblical form; comparison of (1) with (4) illustrates this. However, on other occasions the forms attested in the present corpus lack parallels in the Hebrew Bible and it is therefore unlikely that the maskilic authors intentionally based their own unusual *hif'il* imperatives on this rare biblical phenomenon, though they may have done so subconsciously. (2) and (3) exemplify this point.

(4)

הסיר המצנפת והרים העטרה

Remove the turban and lift off the crown (Ezek. 21:31)

The stem vowel of the masculine singular *hif'il* imperative in Rabbinic Hebrew is attested as *hireq yod* more frequently than in its biblical predecessor (Bendavid 1971, 476). In some cases, such as that shown in (5), these rabbinic forms correspond precisely to those found in the maskilic corpus. This

similarity between the maskilic and rabbinic corpora suggests that the maskilic authors were influenced by rabbinic practice in their selection of such imperative forms. However, other maskilic imperatives have no equivalents in the Mishnah, Talmud or associated writings. It is possible that the comparatively common appearance of the rabbinic *hif'il* with *hireq yod* subconsciously influenced the maskilic writers in their generation of original *hif'il* imperatives, but it is uncertain whether such influence could have been significant because the imperative form in general is used only infrequently in Rabbinic Hebrew (Pérez Fernández 1999, 152) and therefore the overall number of rabbinic *hif'il* imperatives may not have been large enough to make a strong impression on the maskilic writers.

(5)

בלילה היתה אומרת לבנה צא הדליק לי נר

At night she said to her son, 'go out and light me a candle' (Bereshit Rabbah 36:1)

In Israeli Hebrew the imperative is typically used only in high-register language (Glinert 2005, 39). The masculine singular imperative of the *hif'il* stem consistently has *sere* as its stem vowel (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 109), as illustrated in (6). Thus the modern form of the language does not correspond to maskilic literature in this respect.

(6)

הסביר!

Explain! (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 109)

6 INFINITIVES

6.1 *Infinitive construct*6.1.1 *Apocopated hif'il infinitive construct*

Although most of the *hif'il* infinitives construct with and without -ל in the maskilic corpus have a *yod* before the final radical, a variant without such a vowel letter is sometimes attested. This apocopated infinitive appears in both dialogue and narrative, as in (1) and (4) respectively. It is most commonly attested with *pe nun*, *pe yod*, and hollow roots, but can occur with strong roots as well. The fact that this type of form appears in narrative suggests that the authors most likely regarded it as a neutral form devoid of any specific semantic connotations. Similarly, there do not seem to be any clear syntactic patterns dictating the selection of this variant.

(1)

"[...] לא הלך הוא להגיד לכם [...]"

'[...] he did not go to tell you [...]' (Smolenskin 1873, 536)

(2)

"[...] האיכותי בהמשרתים להגיש האוכל [...]"

'[...] I urged the servants to serve the food [...]' (Shulman 1873, 97)

(3)

"[...] ובשנה הלא יוכל להוליד חדשות הרבה [...]"

'[...] and of course in a year he can do many new things [...]' (Abramowitz 1862, 16)

(4)

ולמען הגדל שמחת עמו צוה המלך להודיע ברגע הזאת לכל העם, כי יארוש לו את העלמה

And in order to increase his people's happiness, the king ordered that it be announced to the entire people at that moment that he was to be engaged to the girl (Sheikewitz 1872, 115)

The standard Biblical Hebrew form of the infinitive construct with and without ל for strong, *pe yod*, *pe nun*, and hollow *hif'il* verbs has a *yod* before the final radical (Van der Merwe, Naudé, and Kroeze 1999, 85, 115, 118, 123). (7), (8), and (9) illustrate infinitives with ל from some of these root classes. *Hif'il* infinitives without the *yod* from the roots shown above are not attested in the biblical corpus. Thus the maskilic phenomenon is clearly not based on biblical precedent. The maskilic authors' motivations for employing this non-biblical variant are unclear; however, it is possible that they based it on a faulty analogy with the standard biblical *hif'il* infinitive absolute of the strong, *pe nun*, and hollow root classes, as these forms lack a *yod*. (10) and (11) exemplify such forms for comparison. *Pe yod hif'il* infinitives absolute are not attested in the Hebrew Bible, but the maskilic authors may have unintentionally treated verbs of this class the same way because of their close resemblance to *pe nun* and hollow roots.

(7)

וַהֲנִיחַ אֶרְחַת יִשְׁמַעְאֵלִים בָּאָה מִגִּלְעָד וּגְמָלֵיהֶם נִשְׂאִים נִכְאֹת וְצָרִי נָלַט הוֹלְכִים לְהוֹרִיד מִצְרֵימָה

And they saw a caravan of Ishmaelites coming from Gilead, their camels bearing gum, balm, and lotus to be taken down to Egypt (Gen. 37:25)

(8)

עֲלֵיךְ לְהַגִּיד לָהֶם מִי יֵשֵׁב עַל כִּסֵּא

You must tell them who is to sit on the throne (1 Kings 1:20)

(9)

וַיְהִי בַיּוֹם כִּלּוֹת מִשָּׁה לְהִקְיִם אֶת הַמִּשְׁכָּן וַיִּמְשַׁח אֹתוֹ

On the day that Moses finished setting up the Tabernacle, he anointed it (Num. 7:1)

(10)

הִגִּד הַגִּיד לָנוּ כִּי נִמְצְאוּ הָאֲתָנוֹת

He told us that the asses had been found (1 Sam. 10:16)

(11)

וַיָּבֹא גִדְעוֹן וּמֵאָה אִישׁ אֲשֶׁר אִתּוֹ בְּקֶצֶה הַמַּחֲנֶה רֹאשׁ הָאֲשִׁמָּרֶת הַתִּיכּוֹנָה אֲךֹּ הָקִימוּ אֶת
הַשָּׂמָרִים

Gideon and the hundred men that were with him arrived at the edge of the camp at the beginning of the middle watch, when the sentries had just been posted (Judg. 7:19)

Rabbinic Hebrew adheres to the biblical model with regard to *hif'il* infinitives with -לֵ of the strong, *pe yod*, *pe nun*, and hollow root classes (Segal 1927, 67, 76-9, 80, 85), as shown below. There are no apocopated infinitives with -לֵ attested in the Mishnah, Tosefta, and Talmud resembling the maskilic ones discussed above. Thus maskilic fiction differs from both earlier canonical forms of Hebrew in this respect, and this divergence might suggest that the construction found in the present corpus was originally created by its authors. This interpretation is slightly uncertain because medieval and early modern rabbinical literature contains a small number of similar infinitives, such as that appearing in the extract from Isaac Arama's 15th century work 'Aqedat Yisḥaq in (15), and it is possible that these forms may have informed to some degree the maskilic phenomenon. However, only a few such rabbinical infinitives are attested and most of them are not from the same roots as the forms found in the maskilic corpus; thus any such influence cannot have been significant. The maskilic authors' use of these infinitives seems more likely to have been primarily based on confusion with the biblical infinitive absolute of such roots, though it is possible that the existence of a few similar forms in rabbinical literature subconsciously reinforced their misinterpretation.

(12)

וְאֵינִי רֹאשׁ לְהוֹלִיד בֶּן

And I am not destined to father a child (Babylonian Talmud *Shabbat* 156a)

(13)

הא יכול להגיד מתוך הכתב

He can say it through writing (Babylonian Talmud *Gittin* 71a)

(14)

ואין צריך להרים

And it is not necessary to take off [a measure] (Mishnah 'Orlah 2:1)

(15)

אנכי שלוח להגיד רע

I have been sent in order to say bad things (Arama 1522, 138a)

The standard form of Israeli Hebrew infinitives with -ל of the strong, *pe yod*, *pe nun*, and hollow root classes has a *yod* as the penultimate letter (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 110, 112, 114), as exemplified in (16)-(19). Present-day Hebrew has no parallel to the maskilic phenomenon discussed above.

(16)

אנסה להסביר למה התכוונתי

I'll try to explain what I meant (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 110)

(17)

”[...] ייתכן שרבים מאיתנו לא היו ממהרים להוליד ילדים”

‘[...] it could be that many of us wouldn't rush to have children’ (Kadosh 2006)

(18)

רציתי להגיד מזל טוב

I wanted to say congratulations (Meroz 2007)

(19)

ההנהגה הסורית סיימה להפיק את הלקחים ממלחמת לבנון השנייה

The Syrian leadership has finished learning the lessons of the second Lebanon war (Inbari 2007)

6.1.2 *Energic object suffix with infinitive construct*

The 3ms and 3fs object forms attached to the infinitives construct in the corpus typically appear without an energic *nun*, as in (1) and (2) respectively. However, the maskilic authors sometimes employ third person energic object suffixes in conjunction with infinitives. The energic form most commonly found in this setting is the 3fs. The fact that these variants are attested only in the 3ms and 3fs is most likely due to the fact that the maskilic texts are typically unvocalised and therefore energic endings in the other persons are not detectable. Infinitives with energic suffixes are attested in both narrative and direct speech. They are typically infinitives with *-ל*, as in (3)-(5), but can be unprefixed infinitives construct, as in (6). These energic suffixes are usually attached to *hif'il* or, less frequently, *pi'el* infinitives. They are not attested in conjunction with infinitives of other stems. The fact that the energic forms are not confined to dialogue suggests that the authors did not regard them as a tool for conveying the feel of vernacular speech. It is possible that they used the energic forms in certain cases in order to highlight the importance of the verb in question within the sentence, but such a reading is difficult to confirm. Moreover, the roots in question do not appear as infinitives with any kind of object suffixes frequently enough to determine whether there are any other syntactic or semantic patterns determining the selection of the energic variant instead of the standard one. This uncertainty makes it difficult to ascertain their translation value. If they lack semantic overtones, they need not be reflected in translation; conversely, if the authors employed them as a way of drawing attention to the infinitives in question, the English equivalents may be placed in italics or otherwise highlighted.

(1)

בהיותו איש עשיר ובלי אשה, אמרו שדכנים רבים להביא^{הו}ו בברית את אשה

As he was a wealthy unmarried man, many matchmakers tried to get him married (Braudes 1873, 20)

(2)

"[...] החילותי ללמדנה [...]"

'[...] I started to teach her [...]' (Abramowitz 1862, 17)

(3)

הוא יזכירנו בכל יום תמיד בתפלתו לאלהי החסד והרחמים כי לא ישל את נפשו החוטאת
ולחדיחנה לנצח נצחים

He always remembers him every day in his prayers to the God of kindness and mercy, that He not take his sinning soul and destroy it for all eternity (Brandstädter 1878, 655)

(4)

לפעמים יעורר האֵשֶׁר גם הוא תוגה חרישית ונעימה במשכיות לבבנו אשר אין מלה בלשונו
לתארנה

Sometimes even happiness arouses a kind of pleasant and still melancholy within our hearts that there is no word in our language to describe (Schulman 1857-60, 1:100)

(5)

וכל בן-פראנקפורט ידע את תואר פניה להכירנה

And every Frankfurt native could recognise her by her face (Luria 1864-5, 399)

(6)

"[...] כל אשר הרביתי לעשות למענה למען השאירנה בחיים לא הועיל לי מאומה [...]"

'[...] none of the many things that I did for her to keep her alive were of any benefit to me [...]' (Leinwand 1875-6, 1:19)

In Biblical Hebrew the energetic suffixes are typically found in conjunction with the *yiqtol* and volitive forms rather than with infinitives. There are, however, four attestations of an infinitive with an energetic suffix

(Williams 1972, 83-4). Three of these suffixes are 2ms; the fourth is 3fp (Brown, Driver, and Briggs 1906, 404). (7) and (8) illustrate these variants in turn. In this case the maskilic phenomenon can be traced to the biblical corpus only tentatively, as firstly, the biblical practice is extremely marginal, and secondly, the biblical infinitives with energetic suffixes are not the same as those appearing in maskilic fiction. Thus the maskilic usage clearly does not constitute *shibbus*; rather, it appears to be the result of one of two possibilities: the first is that the maskilic authors noticed the few instances of biblical infinitives construct with energetic suffixes and expanded the principle; the second, and more likely, is that they based their usage on the reasonably widespread biblical attestation of energetic forms suffixed to *yiqtol*s.

(7)

מִן-הַשָּׁמַיִם הִשְׁמִיעַךְ אֶת-קוֹלִי לְיִסְדֹּךָ

From the heavens He made you hear His voice disciplining you (Deut. 4:36)

(8)

וְשָׂם יַעֲקֹב אֶת-הַמִּקְלוֹת לְעֵינֵי הַצֹּאן בְּרֹהֲטֵים לְיִחְמָנָהּ בַּמִּקְלוֹת

Jacob would place the rods in the troughs in view of the flock so that they would breed by the rods (Gen. 30:41)

Rabbinic Hebrew generally employs the energetic variants of the 3ms and 3fs suffixes in conjunction with the *yiqtol* (Segal 1927, 95), as in (9). However, it does not appear to attach them to infinitives with *-ל*. Typical examples of rabbinic infinitives with 3ms and 3fs suffixes are shown in (10) and (11). Hence the maskilic phenomenon mentioned above does not seem to be directly traceable to either biblical or rabbinic literature. It is, however, possible that the maskilic authors' use of the energetic suffixes with the infinitive with *-ל* is an inadvertent extension of the rabbinic propensity to employ these variants with the *yiqtol*.

(9)

אפילו המלך שואל בשלמו לא ישיבנו

Even if the king greets him, he may not respond to him (Mishnah *Berakhot* 5:1)

(10)

כשחלה ר' אליעזר נכנסו ר' עקיבא וחביריו לבקרו

When Rabbi Eliezer fell ill, Rabbi Akiva and his companions came to visit him (Babylonian Talmud *Sanhedrin* 68a)

(11)

אין חנוני רשאי [...] להושיבה על צדה

A shopkeeper is not permitted to [...] put it on its side (Tosefta *Baba Batra* 5:3)

Israeli Hebrew typically avoids object suffixes with infinitives, instead using independent object pronouns, as in (13). In the formal registers an object suffix may be used; however, even here their use is only occasional (Glinert 1989, 158, 312); moreover, in such cases only the non-energetic 3ms and 3fs suffixes are used (Even-Shoshan 2004, 1178). (14) and (15) illustrate this practice. Thus in this respect there is no correspondence between the maskilic corpus and the modern language.

(13)

רציתי לבקר אותו בקרוב

I wanted to visit him soon (Glinert 1989, 312)

(14)

רציתי לבקרו בקרוב

I wanted to visit him soon (Glinert 1989, 312)

(15)

מדי יום מגיעים לראותה בין 10,000 ל- 20,000 איש

Every day between 10,000 and 20,000 people come to see her (Shifron 2007)

6.1.3 *Form of infinitive construct*

The infinitives construct appearing in the corpus can have a variety of forms. The majority, with the exception of those appearing in temporal clauses, are prefixed by the inseparable preposition **ל-**, as in (1). Infinitives with **ל-** may have a pronominal suffix denoting the object of the infinitive action, as in (2). Most infinitives construct in temporal clauses are prefixed by the prepositions **ב-** and **כ-**, as in (3) and (4). Infinitives construct with the prefixed preposition **מ-** appear less frequently, usually in separative contexts, as in (5). In addition, a reasonable number of infinitives construct appear unprefixes, as in (6). Unprefixes infinitives construct and those preceded by **ב-**, **מ-**, or **כ-**, can have a pronominal suffix designating the subject of the action, as in (3). The translation value of the infinitives varies depending on the context in which they are used. See 13.2 for a discussion of the various uses of this form.

(1)

הנני **לספר** לך מעשה שהיה

I am about to tell you something that happened (Dick 1867, 322)

(2)

"ואנכי מהרתי **להביאו** בצל קורת מרדכי [...]"

'And I hurried to bring him under Mordechai's roof [...]' (Mapu 1857-69, 234)

(3)

"[...] **בצאת** פולין למרחב נצא גם אנחנו [...]"

'[...] when Poland emerges into freedom, we too will emerge [...]'

(Smolenskin 1867, 18)

(4)

בראות האיש את הכפרי ואשתו ובניו ויקרב אליו

Upon seeing the village and his wife and children, the man approached him

(Berman 1861, 294)

(5)

וירא מגשת אליו

He was (too) afraid to approach him (Schulman 1857-60, 1:140)

(6)

וישם מסוה על פניו למען הפיק רצון ממני

And he had disguised himself so as to get what he wanted from me (Gordon 1874b, 10)

Biblical Hebrew infinitives construct have several different forms. They can be prefixed by *ל-*, as in (7). They can also be prefixed by *ב-*, *כ-*, and *מ-* in a variety of different contexts, most frequently temporal clauses (Waltke and O'Connor 1990, 604), as in (8), (9), and (10) in turn. Finally, they are frequently unprefixed (Soisalon-Soininen 1972, 84), as in (11). All of these types of infinitive construct may be followed by a suffix designating either the subject or object of the infinitive action (Gesenius 1910, 353-5). (8) contains a subjective pronominal suffix, while (9) and (10) illustrate objective ones in conjunction with infinitives construct with and without the *ל-* prefix in turn. In this respect the maskilic and biblical corpora correspond in that both possess the same range of infinitive construct possibilities. However, they differ in that the *ל-* prefix is used more frequently in maskilic fiction than in the Hebrew Bible and because the maskilic authors use object suffixes only in conjunction with the *ל-* prefix and subject suffixes only with other infinitives construct. These differences may constitute another instance of the maskilic authors inadvertently modifying biblical usage, or indicate influence from Rabbinic Hebrew.

(7)

וַיָּבֹאוּ מִכָּל הָעַמִּים לִשְׁמָע אֶת הַחֲכָמָה שְׁלֹמֹה

And people of all nations came to hear the wisdom of Solomon (1 Kings 5:14)

(8)

בֶּן שְׁלֹשִׁים שָׁנָה דָּוִד בְּמָלְכוֹ

David was thirty years old when he became king (2 Sam. 5:4)

(9)

שם תזבח את הפסח בערב כבוא השמש

There you shall make the Passover sacrifice, in the evening at sunset (Deut. 16:6)

(10)

כי היתה רכושם רב משבת יחדיו

For their possessions were too great for them to live together (Gen. 36:7)

(11)

לא טוב היות האדם לבדו

It is not good for man to be alone (Gen. 2:18)

(12)

האתה תבנה לי בית לשבתי

Are you the one to build a house for Me to dwell in? (2 Sam. 7:5)

(13)

וישנאו אותו ולא יכלו דברו לשלם

They hated him, and could not speak to him amicably (Gen. 37:4)

In Mishnaic Hebrew the infinitive construct is characteristically prefixed by ל- (Haneman 1980, 37), as shown in (14). This form may be preceded by the inseparable preposition מ-, as in (15). The tannaitic infinitive construct does not generally have a pronominal suffix denoting the subject of the action, but may have one indicating the object (Bendavid 1971, 498; Van Bakkum 1983, 264; Pérez Fernández 1999, 146), as in (15). As Mishor (1979, 8) points out, a few manuscript versions of tannaitic literature contain infinitives construct without ל- and with subject suffixes, as in the Venice edition of Sifre Deuteronomy shown in (16); however, this phenomenon is extremely marginal. In Talmudic Hebrew, by contrast, such forms are more common

(Sharvit 2004, 89), as in (17). The maskilic practice of omitting the *-ל* prefix and instead employing *-ב*, *-כ*, or *-מ*, or leaving the infinitive unprefix, corresponds to amoraic literature but differs from Mishnaic Hebrew. Conversely, Maskilic and Mishnaic Hebrew overlap in that neither can place a subject pronominal subject on an infinitive prefixed by *-ל*. This similarity and the maskilic tendency to use the *-ל* prefix on all infinitives construct except those appearing in temporal clauses may suggest a degree of Mishnaic Hebrew influence on the corpus.

(14)

זורק את הדם על מנת להתייר בשר באכילה

He pours out the blood in order for the meat to be permitted as food
(Babylonian Talmud *Beṣah* 20b)

(15)

לא שכחתי מלברכך

I did not forget to bless you (Mishnah *Ma'aser Sheni* 5:11)

(16)

מעברכם את הירדן אתם יודעים שאתם יורשים את הארץ

From the time that you cross the Jordan you will know that you are inheriting the land (Finkelstein 1939, 124)

(17)

וכך היתה תפילתו של כהן גדול ביום הכיפורים בצאתו בשלום מן הקודש

And thus was the High Priest's prayer when he left the sanctuary in peace on the Day of Atonement (Palestinian Talmud *Yoma* 5:2)

In Israeli Hebrew the infinitive construct is commonly prefixed by *-ל* (Ben-Asher 1976, 27; Schwarzwald 1981, 15), as in (18). Such infinitives may have a pronominal object suffix, as in (19). However, they may occasionally appear unprefix or with an inseparable preposition and pronominal subject suffix (Berman 1978, 73), as in (20) and (21). This usage is typically restricted

to the higher registers (Glinert 1989, 315). In this respect the modern language corresponds to maskilic fiction to a considerable degree, as both forms possess all of the same infinitive construct forms. However, the omission of the *-ל* is much more frequent and register-neutral in the maskilic corpus than in Israeli Hebrew.

(18)

אנחנו לא רוצים ללכת הביתה

We don't want to go home (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 297)

(19)

רציתי לבקרו בקרוב

I wanted to visit him soon (Glinert 1989, 312)

(20)

הם יחכו עד וידת החשכה

They will wait until darkness falls (Berman 1978, 297)

(21)

בסיימו את התפקיד הוא יצא לחופשה

Upon completing the task he went on leave (Berman 1978, 297)

6.1.4 *Infinitive with lamed with 3ms object suffixes*

The 3ms object suffixes attached to infinitives in the corpus appear in two variants. The first, shown in (1) and (2), is *-ו*. The second, shown in (3)-(7), is *-וה*. Both variants appear only following infinitives with *-ל*. The two forms appear to be completely interchangeable: both are found in dialogue and narrative, and can follow either a consonant or a vowel. Some of these possibilities appear in (1)-(7).

(1)

וכבר נתנו בו כל בני כסלה את עיניהם לאספו אל ביתם

And all of the inhabitants of Kisleh had already set their sights on taking him into their homes (Frischmann 1878, 160)

(2)

"[...] ואנכי מהרתי להביאו בצל קורת מרדכי [...]"

'[...] and I hurried to bring him under Mordechai's roof [...]' (Mapu 1857, 234)

(3)

"[...] גם את הכסף לא ידרוש מידו במשפט וגם יועיל להוציאהו לחפשי [...]"

'[...] he won't even demand the money from him in court, and he'll even agree to have him released [...]' (Leinwand 1875-6, 2:71)

(4)

"[...] אני הולך אליו כעת לבשרהו הבשורה הזו ולברכהו [...]"

'[...] I'm going now to give him these tidings and to congratulate him [...]' (Abramowitz 1862, 12)

(5)

גם הוא עצר כח להבינהו

He too was trying to steel himself to understand it (Frischmann 1878, 161)

(6)

"[...] ויודע הדבר לשר העיר וישלח אותי להזהירהו [...]"

'[...] then the town official found out about the matter and sent me to warn him [...]' (Smolenskin 1873, 713)

(7)

"[...] כל ימי אחתור בכל עוז להשיב את בעלי מדרכו הרעה, להצניעהו על מעגלי הצדק."

'[...] all my days I will try with all my power to make my husband leave his wicked ways, to put him on the pathway of righteousness.' (Sheikewitz 1872, 82)

The object suffixes attached to Biblical Hebrew infinitives construct are those typically found in conjunction with nouns, and as such the 3ms suffix takes the form ם- (Van der Merwe, Naudé, and Kroeze 1999, 95). There is a single exception to this practice, appearing in Jeremiah 39:14 (Gesenius 1910, 353). In this case the 3ms suffix has the form ם-, as shown in (8). Maskilic literature follows biblical convention in cases when it employs the ם- suffix. However, the two forms of Hebrew differ in their use of the variant ם-, which appears relatively often in maskilic fiction but only once in the Hebrew Bible. This divergence suggests that the maskilic utilisation of the form is based on post-Biblical Hebrew. Such a possibility is supported by the fact that the construction לְהוֹצִיאָהוּ from Jeremiah is itself attested only four times in the entire corpus under examination, once in Leinwand, as shown in (3), once in Schulman (1857-60, 3:48), once in Fuenn (1873, 213), and once in Gordon (1861, 298): the maskilic authors are unlikely to have based their own widespread use of the suffix on a single non-standard biblical construction that hardly appears in their own writing.

(8)

וַיִּתְּנוּ אוֹתוֹ אֶל גְּדַלְיָהוּ בֶן אֲחִיקָם בֶּן שָׁפָן לְהוֹצִיאָהוּ אֶל הַבַּיִת

And they entrusted him to Gedaliah son of Ahikam son of Shaphan in order that he take him home (Jer. 39:14)

The Rabbinic Hebrew 3ms object suffix attached to the infinitive construct resembles that of Biblical Hebrew (Haneman 1980, 117-8), as illustrated in (9) and (10). The Mishnah, Tosefta, Talmuds, and tannaitic and amoraic midrashim do not appear to contain any infinitives suffixed by ם-. Hence the maskilic use of this variant has no precedent in Rabbinic Hebrew.

(9)

וְאַל תִּשְׁתַּדֵּל לִרְאוֹתוֹ בְּשַׁעַת קִלְקֻלוֹ

And do not try to see him in the time of his disgrace (Mishnah *Avot* 4:18)

(10)

לאחר שאכלו ושתו עמדו לברכו

After they had eaten and drunk they stood up to bless him (Babylonian Talmud *Sotah* 10b)

Palestinian Paytanic Hebrew can employ the 3ms object suffix *-hu* in conjunction with the infinitive construct (Yeivin 1996, 114), as shown in (11). Rashi's commentaries exhibit this phenomenon as well (Betzer 2001, 106), as in (12). A similar suffix is attested in a post-talmudic midrash, illustrated in (13). This medieval practice resembles that found in the maskilic corpus. The fact that the maskilic authors' use of the suffix *-hu* seems to mirror some types of Medieval Hebrew while differing from biblical and rabbinic convention suggests that they were influenced by the language of *piyyut* and midrashim in this regard. Nevertheless, they appear to have used the suffix productively rather than limiting themselves to constructions extant in the medieval literature. This is in keeping with the maskilic authors' tendency to create new forms and usages based on precedent from earlier layers of the language.

(11)

להשקיניו

To settle him (Yeivin 1996, 114)

(12)

אסור להרגו

It is forbidden to kill him (Rashi *Sanhedrin* 72a)

(13)

ויתן אל לבו להביאנו אליו

He decided to bring him to him (Eisenstein 1915, 329)

In everyday spoken Israeli Hebrew object suffixes are not commonly used (Muchnik 1992, 119). However, in literary and journalistic contexts they may be attached to infinitives; in such cases the 3ms object suffix may consist

of either ך- or ךו- (Schwarzwald 2001, 40). The variant ך- seems to be used much more frequently. The two forms are illustrated in turn in (14) and (15). In this respect maskilic and Israeli Hebrew are extremely similar, and the fact they both employ each object suffix variant with infinitives while other forms of the language do not suggests that the maskilic authors may have directly contributed to the present-day usage. However, the correspondence is not complete, as the maskilic use of object suffixes is common and register-neutral while that of Israeli Hebrew is relatively rare and largely restricted to literary and newspaper language; moreover, the two variants seem fully interchangeable in maskilic fiction, while the form ךו- appears to be more unusual in the modern language.

(14)

רציתי לבקרו בקרוב

I wanted to visit him soon (Glinert 1989, 312)

(15)

לא תוכל להשיגו

You will not be able to obtain it (Rosenberg 2007)

6.1.5 *Qal infinitive with lamed of pe nun/pe yod roots*

The *qal* infinitives with ל- of *pe nun* roots such as נ.ש.א. and נ.ת.ן. and *pe yod* roots such as י.ש.ב. and י.ד.ע. typically appear without the initial root letter and with a final *taw*. (1) and (2) illustrate this tendency. However, on occasion the *qal* infinitives with ל- from the roots נ.ש.א., נ.ת.ן., and י.ש.ב. are attested as לישא, ליתן, and לישב, as in (3), (4), and (5). It is difficult to assess whether the choice of form is rooted in semantic considerations. Non-standard variants such as לישא and ליתן are always found in dialogue, suggesting that the authors employed them consciously as a marker of colloquial speech. However the use of the variant is extremely erratic. Firstly, the same character may use the standard and non-standard alternative within the same utterance seemingly indiscriminately. Comparison of (2) and (4) illustrates this: both forms of the

same root are employed in two otherwise identical phrases within a single utterance of one character, suggesting that the author was not motivated by any clear selection criteria. Secondly, all types of characters including non-Jewish kings and cultured Maskilim as well as traditional Jews use each variant and therefore the less common ones cannot be interpreted as a marker of uneducated speech or Yiddish. This suggests that the maskilic authors may have tended to use the non-standard forms haphazardly as a way of lending a slightly colloquial feel to their dialogue rather than as a systematic tool designed to represent a particular type of speech. Alternatively, their use of the variants may be based on a subconscious association with the *yiqtol* forms of the roots in question, which have a similar composition. Such an association may be rooted in an analogy with the strong *qal* infinitive with -ל, which resembles the strong *qal yiqtol*.

(1)

"אך למה תבקש אדוני לדעת זאת? [...]"

'But why do you want to know that, Sir? [...]' (Shulman 1873, 82)

(2)

"[...] היה לו פשר אחד לכל דברי ריבות ומשפטים שונים והוא: לתת יין-שרף [...]"

'[...] he had one solution to all the various quarrels and disputes, namely: to give alcohol [...]' (Abramowitz 1862: 57)

(3)

"[...] ומי כהעם הזה ידע לישא ולסבול מכת אויב [...]"

'[...] and who knows how to bear and suffer the enemy's blow like this people [...]' (Smolenskin 1867, 35)

(4)

"[...] אז פדה אתו מלמדו, ליתן יין-שרף [...]"

'[...] then my teacher released him, giving him alcohol [...]'

(Abramowitz 1862, 57)

(5)

האם יכלה לישב על מקומה בעת ידעה כי השעה המיועדת הגיעה [...]:

Could she sit in place knowing that the determined hour had arrived [...]:

(Meinkin 1881, 40)

In Biblical Hebrew the *qal* infinitive with -ל from *pe nun* roots lacks the initial *nun* and has a final *taw* (Van der Merwe, Naudé, and Kroeze 1999, 115), as in (6) and (7). Similarly, the *qal* infinitive construct of several *pe yod* roots, such as י.ר.ד., י.ד.ע., and י.ש.ב., does not have an initial *yod* and ends with a *taw*. (8) exemplifies this point. In many cases the maskilic authors employ the biblical infinitive forms of these roots. However, they diverge from this model by occasionally utilising the infinitives לישא, לישב, and ליתן, which are not attested in the biblical corpus.

(6)

ולא יכלה ארץ מגוריהם לשאת אתם

And the land in which they were dwelling could not support them (Gen. 36:7)

(7)

לא יעשה כן במקומנו לתת הצעירה לפני הבכירה

It is not done in our place to give the younger one in marriage before the older one (Gen. 29:26)

(8)

מלאכה גדולה אני עשה ולא אוכל לרדת

I am doing a great work and cannot come down (Neh. 6:3)

The rabbinic form of the *qal* infinitive with -ל of *pe yod* and *pe nun* roots is derived from the *yiqtol* (Pérez Fernández 1999, 145; Schwarzwald 1980, 183); thus, the infinitive with -ל of the roots י.ש.א., י.ת.ן., and י.ש.ב. are לישא, ליתן, and לישב, as shown in (12)-(16). This practice is identical to, and therefore appears to have been the model for, that found in the maskilic corpus. It is possible

that the authors knowingly selected these rabbinic forms when writing dialogue in order to evoke the feel of vernacular speech. However, the maskilic utilisation of such forms extends only to two *pe yod* and two *pe nun* roots, whereas rabbinic phenomenon is applicable to almost all *pe yod*, *pe nun*, and *pe alef* roots as well as ה.ל.ך and ל.ק.ח. (Pérez Fernández 1999, 144-5). Thus this maskilic use of Rabbinic Hebrew infinitives was inconsistent even if it was cognisant. Moreover, the maskilic corpus differs from its rabbinic antecedent in that it always employs the biblical variants in narrative.

(9)

ר' אליעזר אומר יכול הוא לישא אשה אחרת

Rabbi Eliezer says, 'He can marry another woman' (Mishnah *Sotah* 4:3)

(10)

אם אמר לו אני אציל את שלך ואתה נותן לי את שלי חייב ליתן לו

If he had said to him, 'I will save yours, but pay me for mine', he must pay him (Mishnah *Baba Qamma* 10:4)

(11)

ואם אינו יכול לירד יחזיר את פניו

And if he cannot get down, he should turn his face around (Babylonian Talmud *Berakhot* 28b)

The Israeli Hebrew *qal* infinitives with -ל of the *pe nun* and *pe yod* roots examined above typically lack the *nun* or *yod* and have a final *taw* (Glinert 2005, 94-5, 98-9). Additionally, Tobin (1991, 205-6) points out that there are certain settings in which Israeli Hebrew can employ certain alternative *pe nun* infinitives such as ליתן. He argues that the selection of one form over the other is semantically driven, with the *taw* variant referring to the result of the action and the alternative variant highlighting its process. However, this interpretation is problematic as the *taw* variants seem to be used much more frequently in Israeli Hebrew in both process- and result-oriented contexts; this

can be seen by comparing (15) with (13), which contains the more common variant in a similar setting. Thus in this regard present-day Hebrew usually follows the biblical rather than the rabbinic model. The present corpus overlaps with Israeli Hebrew when it uses the biblical variants and the rabbinic form ליתן. However, the maskilic use of the post-biblical form לישא has no parallel in the modern language; furthermore, Tobin's proposal that the Israeli Hebrew alternation between forms such as לתת and ליתן is based in semantic considerations clearly does not apply to the maskilic corpus, in which both variants are used in similar contexts.

(12)

צריך לדעת איך לשאת משאות כבדים

One needs to know how to carry heavy loads (Bolzky 1996, 447)

(13)

המטוסים [...] מיועדים לתת מענה לביקוש הגובר בקיץ לטיסות ליעדים מרוחקים

The planes [...] are designed to provide a response to the growing summer demand for flights to distant destinations (Denesh 2007b)

(14)

חשוב לדעת כי עבור רכישות של מוצרים מהאינטרנט אתם תשלמו מכס

It's important to know that you'll have to pay duty for buying products from the internet (Hoffman 2007)

(15)

"התנהלות זו של חברת חשמל, הממשיכה להתקשר עם אותו ספק שירות [...] בלי ליתן לציבור הספקים אפשרות להתחרות [...] מהווה הפרה בוטה [...]"

'This management of an electricity company, which continues to communicate with the same service provider [...] without giving the community of providers the possibility to compete [...] constitutes a gross violation [...]' (Morgenstern 2007)

6.1.6 *Suffixed qal infinitive construct of pe yod/pe nun roots*

The standard maskilic infinitive construct forms of the first-radical *yod* and *nun* roots א.ש.א, נ.ת.ן, נ.ג.ש, י.ד.ע, and י.ש.ב appear as שאת, תת, גשת, דעת, and שבת respectively, without the initial *yod* or *nun*. The *pe lamed* root ל.ק.ח conjugates as a first-radical *nun* root and appears as קח in the infinitive construct. However, the maskilic authors frequently utilise an infinitive construct form of these roots with the initial *yod* or *nun* intact. Such forms are invariably found only in particular syntactic settings: they always appear in temporal clauses in which the temporal element can be indicated by either a prefixed inseparable preposition, as in (1), or a preceding independent form, as in (2); moreover, they consistently exhibit a possessive pronominal suffix. These forms typically appear in narrative, as in (1)-(3), but are occasionally attested in dialogue, as in (4) and (5). Their possessive pronominal suffix is most commonly 3ms, which is logical given that they are usually found in third person narrative. They appear in both the beginning and middle of sentences, as in (1) and (2) respectively. The most commonly attested of these forms is of the root א.ש.א; however, the others shown below are all found with reasonable frequency throughout the corpus. In many cases the standard infinitive construct of these roots appears in a seemingly identical position. As in the case of many other non-standard maskilic verbal forms, the authors' reason for selecting the variant with initial *yod* or *nun* on any given occasion is unclear: there is no indication that they are combined with prefixes or suffixes in a different way from their standard counterparts; and their appearance is not limited to certain positions in the sentence. In this respect their only remarkable characteristic is their near-total absence from direct speech; however, the fact that they normally appear in narrative means that the authors are unlikely to have viewed them as marked or otherwise non-neutral, and it is difficult to provide an explanation for the phenomenon other than coincidence.

(1)

"משפט מעוקל הוציא אחיך!" ענה הנסיך בישובו על הכסא

'What your brother said is terribly wrong!' the prince answered while sitting on the throne (Smolenskin 1867, 26)

(2)

מדי נשאי ונתני עמו, החריש המלמד

While I was negotiating with him, the teacher was silent (Gordon 1874b, 13)

(3)

והוא ענה בכבדות, בנשאו ידיו לשמים

And he answered heavily, while lifting his hands heavenwards (Mapu 1857-69, 219)

(4)

"[...] אחרי לקחו את בתך, בנה לו השר את הבית הגדול הזה [...]"

'[...] after he took your daughter, the nobleman built this big house [...]' (Braudes 1877, 196)

(5)

"[...] מדי נגשה אלי נרעה לה נפשה [...]"

'[...] when she approached me she was extremely distraught [...]' (Schulman 1857-60, 1:126)

Biblical Hebrew frequently employs infinitives construct in temporal clauses. In such cases the temporal element is typically conveyed by a prefixed inseparable preposition such as *-ב*, as in (6), or a temporal conjunction such as *עד*, as in (10). Infinitives in this position often appear in conjunction with a possessive pronominal suffix, as in (6) and (7); alternatively, they may be followed by an independent nominal subject, as in (8). Biblical infinitives construct of roots such as *נ.ש.א* and *י.ש.ב* invariably appear without the initial *yod* or *nun*. Thus, although the maskilic corpus mirrors the Hebrew Bible in that both use infinitives construct with pronominal suffixes in temporal clauses, the actual maskilic infinitive construct form lacks biblical precedent. The following biblical infinitives

construct, which are from the same roots as the maskilic ones above, clearly illustrate the difference between the two forms of the language in this respect. It is nevertheless possible that the maskilic construction is the product of a combination of biblical forms: these maskilic infinitive construct forms with preserved initial *yod* or *nun* resemble the biblical *qotels*, for example נושא, נותן, and יודע, and it is possible that they were created out of a fusion of the *qotel* form with the syntactic and semantic properties of the infinitive construct. This may thus constitute another instance of maskilic authors taking a biblical construction and instilling it with original morphological properties of their own, possibly unintentionally.

(6)

כִּי נָדַר נָדַר עֲבָדְךָ בְּשִׁבְתִּי בְּגֶשׁוּר בְּאַרְם

For your servant made a vow while living in Geshur of Aram (2 Sam. 15:8)

(7)

וְיָדְעוּ כִּי אֲנִי יְהוָה בְּתַתִּי אֶת נִקְמָתִי בָם

They will know that I am the Lord when I wreak my vengeance upon them
(Ezek. 25:17)

(8)

וְהָיוּ הַבָּדִים עַל שְׁתֵּי צִלְעֹת הַמִּזְבֵּחַ בְּשִׂאתוֹ

So that the poles are on both sides of the altar when it is carried (Exod. 27:7)

(9)

בְּיוֹם שֶׁחָתִי מֵהֶם אֶת מְעוֹזָם

On the day on which I take away their strength (Ezek. 24:25)

(10)

וְהוּא עָבַר לִפְנֵיהֶם וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ אֶרְצָה שֶׁבַע פְּעָמִים עַד גִּשְׁתּוֹ עַד אָחִיו

He went on ahead of them and bowed down to the ground seven times until he had drawn near his brother (Gen. 33:3)

Rabbinic Hebrew does not employ infinitives construct in temporal clauses. Instead, it uses a finite verb in the conjugation appropriate to the context preceded by a temporal conjunction (Bendavid 1971, 499), as in (11). In this respect Maskilic Hebrew differs from the language of the Mishnah and Talmud. Moreover, in most cases the form of infinitive construct used in the maskilic constructions discussed above differs from that of rabbinic infinitives of the same root classes: the maskilic *pe nun* suffixed infinitives construct have an initial *nun*, whereas their rabbinic counterparts begin with *yod*. Finally, Rabbinic Hebrew invariably uses the infinitive with ל and without a pronominal subject suffix (Sharvit 2004, 52); by contrast, the maskilic authors employ the infinitive without ל and with a pronominal subject suffix. (12) illustrates these points. The fact that the maskilic construction has no precedent in either Biblical or Rabbinic Hebrew suggests that the authors of the corpus either drew on a later Hebrew source or evolved the form themselves. I shall discuss these possibilities below.

(11)

כשנתתי לך שלום למה לא החזרת לי שלום

When I greeted you, why didn't you return my greeting? (Babylonian Talmud *Berakhot* 32b)

(12)

רשאיין בני חבורה ליתן לו את שלו

The members of his company are allowed to give him what belongs to him (Mishnah *Pesahim* 8:4)

Some rabbinic responsa from the early modern period contain constructions similar to the maskilic ones discussed above. As the maskilic authors would most likely have had access to these works, it is possible that their own writing was informed by the constructions appearing in them. Any such influence was almost certainly unintentional, considering that the Maskilim expressed considerable disdain for the rabbinic style of Hebrew of

the era. However, only a few such forms are attested in the Responsa literature and all of them are restricted to the root *ע.ד.י*, as shown in (13). Thus it is difficult to assess the extent of any possible influence such constructions might have had on the considerably more widespread maskilic phenomenon. It may be more likely that the maskilic authors created it independently by mixing the syntax of the biblical infinitive construct with the *qotel* form. Alternatively, it is possible that, as in the case of the apocopated *hif'il* infinitive construct, the existence of this form in the Responsa literature served to reinforce subconsciously an unrelated maskilic tendency to employ it.

(13)

ואני עמדתי כנגדם. **בידעתי** שאין הצבור יכולין לעמוד בזולתם

And I stood opposite them, knowing that the public could not stand in their company (Emden 1738-59, 2:47b)

Israeli Hebrew typically constructs temporal clauses by means of a finite verb preceded by a temporal conjunction and followed by a nominal subject. This practice is illustrated in (14). However, it is possible to create a temporal clause using an infinitive construct with a preceding temporal conjunction or prefixed inseparable preposition other than *-ל* and possessive pronominal suffix, as in (15). This usage is usually restricted to the high registers (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 350) and journalistic language (Berman 1978, 296; Muchnik 1992, 119). In normative Israeli Hebrew infinitives construct of *pe yod* and *pe nun* root classes lack the *yod* or *nun*. (15) illustrates this principle. However, sometimes speakers attempting to employ high-register language erroneously use forms resembling those found in the maskilic corpus. Such a case appears in (16). The existence of this phenomenon in both Maskilic and Israeli Hebrew may indicate a direct link between the two forms of the language. However, this possibility is difficult to confirm because the maskilic trend is widespread and apparently regarded as normative by its authors, while the modern practice is non-normative and largely restricted to the spoken language.

(14)

הוא שינה את שמו **בשהוא עלה** לישראל

He changed his name when he immigrated to Israel (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 350)

(15)

הוא נחבט **בידתו** מהמטוס

He was hit while getting off of the plane (Bliboim 1995, 126)

(16)

ביושבך מול מאיר נזכר אתה

On sitting facing Meir you remember (Glinert 1989, 316)

II FUNCTION

7 QATAL

7.1 Past

7.1.1 Past habitual

The corpus contains numerous *qatals* in contexts clearly indicating that their actions took place on multiple occasions at regular intervals in the past. Such *qatals* are accompanied by temporal adverbials that specify when the actions in question took place and reinforce their habitual force. The English translational equivalents of *qatal* forms in these contexts are the preterite or the periphrastic constructions ‘used to’ or ‘would’ + infinitive, all of which can designate past habitual actions (Swan 1995, 416, 604, 633). The past habitual interpretation of these *qatals* is supported in some cases by the existence of an original version in a European language containing a past habitual verbal form. For example, the *qatal* in (1) is precisely comparable to the imperfect verb in the French Vorlage appearing directly beneath it; the French imperfect is the verbal tense used to convey ongoing and habitual past actions (Hawkins and Towell 2001, 224). One would typically designate verbs indicating repeated past action as imperfective, and thus the authors’ selection of the *qatal* rather than a *yiqtol* in this type of setting is noteworthy because it suggests that they were primarily motivated by the conjugation’s associations with the past tense rather than with any aspectual considerations.

(1)

”[...] פעמים רבות גרפה אותי בשם אֶסּוּפֶת-חוּץ—”

‘[...] many times she cursed me with the name foundling -’ (Schulman 1857-60, 1:19)

(2)

‘[...] elle me **disait** toujours qu’elle m’avait ramassée dans la rue’

'[...] she always used to tell me that she had picked me up on the street' (Sue 1842-3, 48)

(3)

"[...] ובהיותו כתלמיד חכם נוקם ונוטר כנחש, ארב לו תמיד [...]"

'[...] and since as a Torah scholar he was as vengeful and resentful as a snake, he always ambushed him [...]' (Mapu 1857-69, 226)

(4)

כן עשה פעמים רבות בחייו

Thus he did many times in his life (Smolenskin 1873, 541)

(5)

בכל ערב ובקר הלכו יחד לשוח בשדה

Every evening and morning they went together to talk in the field (Braudes 1876a, 180)

Biblical Hebrew consistently employs the *yiqtol* to designate actions that took place repeatedly at a time prior to the present moment (Van der Merwe, Naudé, and Kroeze 1999, 148). This is in keeping with proposals of scholars such as Waltke and O'Connor (1990) and Gentry (1998) that the biblical verbal system is primarily aspectual, with the *qatal* used to denote punctive, finite and isolated events and the *yiqtol* serving to indicate durative, unfinished and repeated actions. Thus the maskilic use of the *qatal* to convey past habitual actions has no precedent in the Hebrew Bible, and indeed contradicts the biblical principle according to which this conjugation is not employed in imperfective contexts.

(6)

וְכֵן יַעֲשֶׂה שָׁנָה בְּשָׁנָה

And thus he would do year after year (1 Sam. 1:7)

While Rabbinic Hebrew possesses a periphrastic form that can be employed specifically to designate habitually occurring actions (Pérez Fernández 1999, 137), it can utilise the *qatal* conjugation in contexts such as those discussed above (Azar 1994, 4). The latter usage appears to be much less frequent than the former, and indeed in most cases the *qatals* in question may alternatively be interpreted perfectly. For example, the *qatals* in (7) may be read either as past habituais or as punctive events; moreover, any habitual sense is arguably attributable solely to the repetition of the verbs in question. Thus the maskilic use of the *qatal* in past habitual contexts may have a counterpart in, and therefore stem from, rabbinic literature. However, this rabbinic usage is infrequent and uncertain whereas its maskilic counterpart is widespread and unambiguous; hence, the maskilic phenomenon may not be traceable primarily to the rabbinic corpus but rather to the authors' native Yiddish.

(7)

הגיעו לשער המים תקעו והריעו ותקעו

When they would reach the Water Gate they would blow/blew a sustained blast, a broken blast and a sustained blast [on the *shofar*] (Mishnah *Sukkah* 4:9)

Yiddish possesses a specific past habitual auxiliary verb, פֿלעגן (Mark 1978, 292; Jacobs 2005, 222). Nevertheless, it commonly uses the past tense in similar contexts (Mark 1978, 293), often with a temporal adverbial, as shown in (8). This practice corresponds closely to that of the maskilic corpus, which frequently employs the *qatal* with a past habitual sense but additionally possesses a specific periphrastic form for use in such settings (see 10.2).

(8)

"[...] זי האָט מיר שטענדיק דערציילט מעשיות און געלייענט פּאָעזיע"

'[...] she always told me stories and read me poetry' (Zucker 1994-2002, 1:217)

Israeli Hebrew possesses a specific periphrastic past habitual construction comprising the *qatal* of the root *ה.י.ה* and a *qotel* of the main verb; however, it can additionally convey repeated past events using the *qatal* in conjunction with a temporal indicator (Glinert 1989, 126; Tzivoni 1991, 59-60). This latter practice, shown in (9), is employed less frequently than the compound form. This Israeli Hebrew use of the *qatal* in past habitual contexts corresponds to that found in the maskilic corpus and in Yiddish. As in the case of the past progressive (see 7.1.2), it is possible that this usage was transferred from Yiddish to Maskilic Hebrew and thence to Israeli Hebrew, though it may alternatively have spread directly from Yiddish to Israeli Hebrew.

(9)

תמיד ביקרתי שם

I always used to visit there (Glinert 1989, 126)

7.1.2 *Past progressive*

Qatals are attested relatively frequently in settings indicating that they refer to unfinished processes in progress at the same time as, and possibly interrupted by, perfective actions conveyed using other *qatals* appearing in close proximity. This is illustrated in (1)-(4). The fact that the *qatal* appears so commonly in contexts clearly portraying ongoing processes strongly suggests that the maskilic authors did not perceive this conjugation primarily as a marker of perfectivity. The English translation value of an action in such a context is the past progressive, which is used to present a past action as an ongoing process (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 162-4).

(1)

”מה לך אפרים [...]” שאלה מעכה את אישה, אשר הלך בזעם אחת הנה ואחת הנה בחדרו

‘What is the matter with you, Ephraim [...]’ Maaca asked her husband, who was walking angrily back and forth in his room (Abramowitz 1862, 5)

(2)

ובעוד רגע נשמע בבית משק קול אופני המרכבה אשר נסעו בה

And a moment later the sound of the wheels of the carriage in which they were travelling was heard in the house (Braudes 1873, 35)

(3)

עוד עת רבה ישבתי בבית המרוז בטרם חנני ה' לראות את מרכבת גדליה אשר אליה חכיתי

For a great while longer I sat in the inn before the Lord granted me the sight of Gedaliah's carriage, which I was waiting for (Shulman 1873, 86)

(4)

וישתומם לראות כי שחק

And he was amazed to see that he was laughing (Mapu 1857-69, 217)

Biblical Hebrew does not employ the *qatal* to convey past progressive events; rather, it selects the *qotel* in such contexts (Driver 1892, 27, 166; Joosten 1999, 22), as shown in (5). Thus the maskilic imperfective use of the *qatal* discussed above appears to lack precedent in the biblical corpus.

(5)

וַיַּחלֶם וַהֲנֵה סֵלֶם מֻצָּב אֶרֶץ וְרֹאשׁוֹ מֵגִיעַ הַשָּׁמַיְמָה וַהֲנֵה מַלְאֲכֵי אֱלֹהִים עֹלִים וְיֹרְדִים בּוֹ

He dreamed that a ladder was set on the ground, with its top reaching up to the heavens, and angels of God were going up and down on it (Gen. 28:12)

Rabbinic Hebrew generally uses a periphrastic construction consisting of a *qatal* of the verb ה.י.ה followed by a *qotel* to portray a past event as an ongoing process. This usage contrasts with the case discussed in the present entry if the latter is interpreted as expressing a past action in progress; however, it corresponds to another instance in the corpus (see 10.1). (6) illustrates this compound form. Hence rabbinic literature, like its biblical predecessor, does not seem to have contributed to maskilic usage in this respect. As in other instances discussed in the present study, this maskilic innovation may be traceable to its authors' native tongue.

(6)

פעם אחת היינו יושבים לפני רבי טרפון, ובאתה יבמה לחלוץ

Once we were sitting before Rabbi Tarfon when a sister-in-law came to perform *halisah* (Babylonian Talmud *Yevamot* 106b)

Yiddish possesses a single past tense form that is used to designate both punctual and durative actions taking place prior to the present moment (Weinreich 1971, 328; Estraiikh 1996, 88), including past progressives (Rockowitz 1979, ix-x). The Hebrew conjugation that the maskilic authors would naturally have associated most closely with this Yiddish past tense is the *qatal* because the latter is most commonly employed in past tense contexts. Thus the maskilic sentences illustrated above, in which *qatals* serve to convey unfinished processes unfolding at the time of a perfective action, have a precise analogue in the Eastern European Jewish vernacular. (7) highlights the resemblance between the two languages. This correspondence, combined with the lack of a similar feature in the Biblical or Rabbinic Hebrew, suggests that the authors of the present corpus were influenced by their own spoken tongue when conveying ongoing past processes. The likelihood that Yiddish is the primary contributor to this maskilic phenomenon is reinforced by the fact that German expresses this type of past event by other means (Hammer 2002, 304-6), as do Russian (Wade 2000, 273) and Polish (Bielec 1998, 45).

(7)

די דריטע נאכט ווען די ברידער האבן געטראגן זייערע גארבן האבן זיי זיך געזען אין מיטן וועג

On the third night, when the brothers were carrying their sheaves they saw each other in the middle of the road (Zucker 1994-2002, 1:135)

Israeli Hebrew typically uses the *qatal*, often in conjunction with a temporal adverb, in contexts equivalent to the English past progressive (Tzivoni 1991, 68-9). This is most likely because the *qatal* serves as the modern language's past tense and can be used for all actions occurring prior to the

present moment, including those of a progressive nature (Muchnik 1989, 37, 51). This practice, shown in (8), has no parallel in the two canonical forms of the language, but identically mirrors the maskilic practice discussed above. This resemblance may be evidence of a direct progression from the Yiddish vernacular through Maskilic Hebrew literature to modern-day Israeli speech and writing, though as mentioned in 7.1.1, the Israeli Hebrew forms may be attributable to direct influence from Yiddish.

(8)

כשצילצלת, אני בדיוק דיפדפתי בו

When you rang, I was just leafing through it (Glinert 1989, 125)

7.1.3 *Pluperfect*

On many occasions in the corpus a *qatal* appears in a past narrative context indicating a completed action or resultant state presented as background information against the setting of which the action of the main verb in the sequence takes place. (1), (3), and (4) illustrate completed actions, while (2) contains a resultative state. *Qatals* denoting this type of background information are functionally equivalent to English pluperfects, which are used to designate one past action as anterior to another past action serving as the reference point of the clause in question (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 140). These *qatals* are always found in subordinate clauses, typically relative clauses introduced by אשר, with this syntactic position serving to convey the sense of anteriority. The *qatal* is the only form found in such settings, indicating that the maskilic authors associated the presentation of background information in subordinate clauses exclusively with this conjugation. This practice can be contrasted with the maskilic treatment of many other types of past actions, for example preterites and past progressive, which can be rendered with *yiqtol*s or *qotel*s as well as *qatals*.

(1)

רוח הזקן אשר עזבו לפני רגע, שב אליו

The old man's spirit, which had left him a moment before, returned to him
(Smolenskin 1867, 25)

(2)

"אני עבדו הנאמן", אמר צבי, אשר החריש עד כה

'I am his loyal servant,' said Zvi, who had been silent so far (Abramowitz 1862, 44)

(3)

אחרי מות אישה נתנה את מעט הכסף אשר השאיר לה

After her husband's death she gave away the small amount of money that he had left her (Braudes 1873, 19)

(4)

ואז החלה להתנחם על כל אשר עשתה

And then she began to feel remorse everything that she had done (Dick 1867, 323)

Biblical Hebrew employs the *qatal* in order to designate background information in narrative prose (Zevit 1998, 15). This is in keeping with the primary function of the biblical *qatal*, namely the presentation of actions as perfective, as well as with the strong tendency to employ it in past-tense settings. In this regard biblical usage resembles that of the maskilic corpus, and thus the latter is most likely based on the former.

(5)

ולא ידע יעקב כי רחל גנבתם

Now Jacob did not know that Rachel had stolen them (Gen. 31:32)

Rabbinic Hebrew generally employs the *qatal* to past actions serving to provide background information to the action of the main verb in a narrative sequence, as in (6). The selection of the *qatal* in such settings does not reflect a desire to present the actions perfectly, but rather the conjugation's role as a

past tense in this form of the language. In addition, Rabbinic Hebrew can sometimes convey past states denoting background information with a periphrastic construction consisting of the *qatal* of the root ה.י.ה preceded by *waw* and followed by a *qotel* (Pérez Fernández 1999, 116), typically of a passive or reflexive stem as in (7). However, this phenomenon appears to be far from widespread (Mishor 1983, 379-80); thus in most cases rabbinic literature corresponds to the maskilic corpus as well as the Hebrew Bible.

(6)

נתייחד עמה אחר שכתבו

He was alone with her after he had written it (Mishnah 'Eduyot 4:7)

(7)

הדבר דומה למלך שיצא לטייל עם אריסו בפרדס והיה אותו אריס מיטמר מלפניו

The matter resembles that of a king who went out to walk in the orchard with his labourer, and the labourer had hidden himself from him (Weiss 1862, 111b)

Israeli Hebrew uses the *qatal* in past contexts when referring to an action that serves to provide background information and set the scene for the main verb of a narrative sequence (Tzivoni 1991, 74). The use of the *qatal* in this type of setting is attributable to the fact that the modern form of Hebrew employs that conjugation as a past tense and therefore uses it to convey almost all types of actions occurring prior to the present moment. (8) illustrates this usage. In this respect Israeli Hebrew overlaps with the maskilic corpus as well as with earlier forms of the language.

(8)

שמעתי סיפור בחדשות [...] על ילד שהכו אותו בבית הספר

I heard a story on the news [...] about a child that had been hit at school (Berman and Sandbank 1999, 10)

7.1.4 *Present perfect*

In direct speech portions of the corpus the *qatal* can be used in settings indicating an action that took place at some unspecified point prior to the moment of utterance. In such contexts it is usually appropriate to translate the *qatals* with the English present perfect as they typically indicate past experiences or resultative states (see Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 143-6 for a detailed discussion of the uses of the English present perfect). *Qatals* in this type of setting may be accompanied by a reference to the present moment. In positive contexts this is often *זה*, as in (1), or *כבר*, as in (2). In negative settings, when the action may be anticipated but has not yet taken place as of the time of speaking, the *qatal* is usually accompanied by *עוד לא*, as in (3). In some cases, particularly when there is no accompanying time adverbial, it is difficult to determine whether a given *qatal* corresponds to the English present perfect or whether it should instead be interpreted as a preterite (see 7.1.5).

(1)

"[...] הנה זה עברו יותר מעשרים שנה מאז עזבת את הארץ ההיא [...]"

'[...] more than twenty years have passed since you left that country [...]'

(Brock 1877, 221)

(2)

"[...] וכבר זכיתי לקבל מכתב מראשי הכולל [...]"

'[...] and I have already had the good fortune to receive a letter from the heads of the *yeshivah* [...]' (Gordon 1874b, 8)

(3)

"[...] ואני לא החלתי עוד להכין לחג [...]"

'[...] and I haven't started to prepare for the holiday yet [...]' (Abramowitz 1862, 5)

Biblical Hebrew generally employs the *qatal* conjugation when discussing an event that occurred prior to the present moment but that

'signifies a resulting perfect state in present time' (Waltke and O'Connor 1990, 490). Such *qatals* are functionally equivalent to the English present perfect (Hataav 1997, 178). This is shown in (4). However, it occasionally uses *yiqtol* forms in such contexts as well (Joüon 1993, 2:369), as in (5). It is possible that the alternation between the two conjugations reflects their respective aspectual nuances, indicating the speakers' desire to highlight the punctual nature of some actions while presenting others as imperfective. Alternatively, the fact that such *yiqtol*s appear relatively infrequently and are more common in poetry than narrative suggests that they constitute archaisms or traces of a different verbal system particular to poetic language. With the exception of this latter phenomenon, maskilic usage appears to overlap significantly with that of its biblical predecessor in its presentation of this type of past action. This similarity suggests that the authors of the present corpus based their use of the *qatal* in such contexts on the precedent of biblical narrative.

(4)

וַיֹּאמֶר מָה עָשִׂיתָ

And He said, 'What have you done?' (Gen. 4:10)

(5)

תַּמְשִׁילֶהוּ בְּמַעֲשֵׂי יָדֶיךָ

You have made him master over Your handiwork (Ps 8:7)

Rabbinic Hebrew employs the *qatal* when referring to past actions or states the effects of which continue to be felt in the present (Pérez Fernández 1999, 116-7), as in (6). This conforms to the conjugation's primary role as a past tense in this form of the language. Verbs designating this type of past action are often accompanied by the adverb כָּבַד, or, in negative sentences, עדיין לא (Mishor 1983, 28). In this respect rabbinic literature identically mirrors the maskilic texts, as well as resembling biblical usage to a considerable degree. The fact that Maskilic and Rabbinic Hebrew both differ slightly from their biblical ancestor in this respect, as they never employ the *yiqtol* in this type of

context, raises the possibility that the authors of the present corpus were influenced by the rabbinic perception of the *qatal* as the only vehicle for presenting past tense actions. Alternatively, maskilic usage may be solely attributable to the fact that in Biblical Hebrew the *qatal* is used more frequently than the *yiqtol* in these settings.

(6)

כל שחבתי בשמירתו, הכשרתי את נזקו

Everything that I have taken it upon myself to look after, I take responsibility for any damage (Mishnah *Baba Qamma* 1:2)

Israeli Hebrew consistently employs the *qatal* in contexts that are functionally equivalent to the English present perfect (Tzivoni 1991, 56). Such verbs are often accompanied by adverbs such as *כבר*, *עוד*, and *עדיין לא*. These points are indicated in (7). This convention resembles that of the maskilic corpus and Rabbinic Hebrew as well as the main biblical usage.

(7)

הם עוד לא פגשו את השכנים

They have not yet met the neighbours (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 289)

7.1.5 *Preterite*

The majority of *qatals* in the corpus appear in contexts indicating that their actions denote single finite past events. The predominance of this type of *qatal* is logical given that the primary purpose of the texts under analysis is the recounting of past events. In narrative settings this type of action occurs as part of the main storyline; by contrast, in dialogue it refers to a time prior to the moment of utterance. These two variants are illustrated in (1) and (2) respectively. Preterite actions can be short and possess a clearly defined beginning and conclusion, as in (1). However, they can also be of a long or unspecified duration, as in (3). The decision to convey this type of action with *qatals* rather than *yiqtols*, despite the fact that they are sometimes durative in

nature, suggests that the authors may have desired to portray them perfectly, i.e. without referring to their 'internal temporal constituency' (Comrie 1976, 21), rather than as processes. Nevertheless, the choice of conjugation may conversely stem primarily from the strong association between the *qatal* and the past tense. The fact that the maskilic authors frequently employ the *qatal* in durative past contexts (see 7.1.1 and 7.1.2 for details) supports the second explanation. Occasionally the finite nature of this type of *qatal* is heightened by the nearby presence of an adverbial specifying when or how the action took place; (1) and (2) illustrate such cases. These *qatals* can be equated with the English preterite tense, which is used to convey perfective past actions (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 137-8).

(1)

פתאום נפתחה הדלת ושלושה אנשים יצאו

Suddenly the door opened and three men came out (Broda 1871, 43)

(2)

"[...] יום שלשום ילדה אשתי תאומים [...]"

'[...] the day before yesterday my wife bore twins [...]' (Shulman 1873, 91)

(3)

האומללים האלה נמכרו במחיר שלשים או ארבעים רובל כסף כל אחד

These poor wretches were sold for a price of thirty or forty roubles each (Berman 1861, 251)

According to recent studies by scholars such as Gentry (1998) and Furuli (2006), the primary role of the *qatal* conjugation in Biblical Hebrew is the expression of perfective, and typically past, events, and preterite actions exemplify both of these characteristics as they are complete actions, whether of minimal or prolonged duration, that took place before the moment of speaking or main narrative sequence. (4) illustrates biblical use of the *qatal* in such settings. Thus the maskilic presentation of preterite events resembles that of Biblical Hebrew.

(4)

וַלחֹשֶׁךְ קָרָא לַלַּיְלָה

And the darkness He called night (Gen. 1:5)

In Rabbinic Hebrew the *qatal* is consistently used in the expression of punctive past actions. Therefore biblical, rabbinic, and maskilic usage corresponds in this type of context.

(5)

מֹשֶׁה קָבַל תּוֹרָה מִסִּינַי

Moses received the Torah from Sinai (Mishnah *Avot* 1:1)

In Israeli Hebrew the *qatal* serves as the past tense in a tripartite tense system and is therefore employed in the portrayal of both punctive and durative past actions. (6) illustrates a *qatal* in a perfective past setting. Israeli usage thus corresponds with that of the maskilic corpus in its presentation of perfective past actions.

(6)

דָּן הֵגִיעַ לְשִׁיעוּר חֲצִי שָׁעָה אַחֲרֵי הַצִּלְצוֹל

Dan came to class half an hour after the bell (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 374)

7.2 Present

7.2.1 Gnomic present

Stative verbs, such as יָדַע, אָהַב, and יָרָא, often occur in the corpus as *qatals* in contexts wherein the verbs refer not to the past, but to emotional states that are valid at all times. Verbs in this type of setting are classified as a form of present tense because something that is always true is necessarily true at the present moment (Comrie 1985, 37-8). These *qatals* are functionally equivalent to the English present tense, which is the form used to convey eternally valid states (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 127). Such gnomic presents are generally

found in direct utterances, as in (1). However, they can occur in narrative when referring to eternal truths rather than states valid only at the time in which the past storyline unfolded, as in (2). Unlike the other verbs discussed in this entry, ידע is found as both a *yiqtol* and *qotel* on several occasions as well with no apparent difference in meaning or syntax (see 8.2.1 and 9.2.1).

(1)

”[...] אהבתי מאד את הורי [...]”

‘...I love my parents very much...’ (Mapu 1857-69, 229)

(2)

ידעתי רבים אשר ימלאו פיהם שחוק עלי בשמעם תודתי

I know many who would laugh out loud upon hearing my admission
(Gordon 1874b, 3)

(3)

”[...] הגזרה הזאת קשה מגזרת פרעה [...]”

‘[...] this decree is harsher than Pharaoh’s decree [...]’ (Dick 1867, 306)

Stative verbs commonly appear in Biblical Hebrew in the *qatal* conjugation in settings indicating that they refer to generally true conditions (Waltke and O’Connor 1990, 491-3; Rogland 2003, 24). This practice precisely mirrors that found in the maskilic texts, and this resemblance strongly indicates that the authors of the present corpus modelled their own usage on that found in the Hebrew Bible.

(4)

ועשה לי מטעמים כאשר אהבתי

And make me a dish such as I love (Gen. 27:4)

Rabbinic Hebrew does not generally use the *qatal* conjugation with stative verbs in this type of context (Bendavid 1971, 542-3). Rather, it employs

the *qotel*, as shown in (5). It is clear that these *qotels* function verbally rather than nominally or adjectivally as they are followed by the definite direct object marker **את**. Thus rabbinic language differs from that of the Bible and the maskilic writers in this regard.

(5)

אוהב את המקום אוהב את הבריות אוהב את הצדקות אוהב את המישרים

[One who] loves God, loves humankind, loves justice, loves righteousness
(Mishnah *Avot* 6:6)

In Israeli Hebrew the *qotel* typically serves to express the present tense, including the gnomic present (Muchnik 1989, 37). This includes stative roots, as in (6) and (7). In this respect the modern language resembles Rabbinic rather than Biblical or Maskilic Hebrew. However, in spoken Israeli Hebrew the *qatal* of verbs referring to feeling and understanding can often have present reference (Schwarzwald 1994, 111), as in (8). This usage overlaps with that found in the maskilic corpus, but the roots in question are usually different.

(6)

אני אוהבת את כל המחזות של שייקספיר

I love all of Shakespeare's plays (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 375)

(7)

ואת ידעת את שם הרחוב שלך?

And do you know the name of your street? (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 370)

(8)

הבנתי

I understand (Schwarzwald 1994)

7.3 *Conditional/irrealis*

7.3.1 *Apodosis of real conditions*

Qatals appear in the apodoses of real (fulfilled/factual) conditions in the corpus. In these cases they are invariably used to designate past actions that took place as the fulfilment of an event mentioned in the protasis. They are translatable with the English preterite or other past tense form, which are used in real conditions with past tense value (Swan 1995, 246). Such *qatals* are usually found in direct speech portions of the corpus and refer to actions that took place prior to the moment of utterance. They are never preceded by particles signalling the beginning of the apodosis.

(1)

"[...] אם גמרתי לעשות דבר מה, לא נחתי ולא שקטתי עד אם מלאתי חפצי [...]"

'[...] if I decided to do something, I didn't rest until I had fulfilled my desire [...]' (Abramowitz 1862, 65)

Biblical Hebrew employs *qatals* in the apodosis of real conditional sentences in order to designate the actions in question as completed (Gesenius 1910, 494). These verbs are not accompanied by introductory particles of any kind. In this regard the biblical usage resembles, and thus most likely served as the basis for, its maskilic counterpart.

(2)

וְאִם לֹא תַעֲשֶׂוּ כֵן הִנֵּה חָטֵאתֶם לַיהוָה

And if you do not do so, you have sinned to the Lord! (Num. 32:23)

The apodoses of Rabbinic Hebrew real conditions are attested with *qatals* when they denote past actions (Segal 1927, 228). These *qatals* are not usually preceded by introductory particles. This rabbinic usage resembles that of the maskilic corpus as well as Biblical Hebrew.

(3)

אם כיון לבו יצא

If he did it with devotion, he has fulfilled his obligation (Mishnah *Berakhot* 2:1)

Israeli Hebrew can use the *qatal* conjugation in the apodosis of real conditions to indicate the past tense result of the action fulfilled in the protasis (Bar 2003, 20-1). Such *qatals* are not normally introduced by particles of any kind. This usage is identical to that found in maskilic as well as biblical and rabbinic usage.

(4)

שברת שילמת

If you break it you buy it (Suisse 2006)

7.3.2 *Apodosis of irreal conditions*

The apodoses of the irreal conditions in the corpus generally contain *qatals*. *Qatals* in such contexts are typically introduced by *כי עתה*, as in (1), *כי אז*, as in (2), or, less frequently, *אז*, as in (3). A *qatal* in the apodosis of an irreal condition can refer to two types of event. The first is unrealised at the present moment and unlikely to take place in future but still theoretically possible; most *qatals* in direct speech irreal conditions refer to such improbable events, as shown in (1) and (2). The second refers to an imaginary version of the past and is completely unrealisable. *Qatals* in narrative irreal conditions typically refer to this type of counterfactual event, as in (4). Moreover, some *qatals* in direct speech irreal conditions have this value, as in (3). The *qatals* appearing in the apodoses of improbable conditions are translatable with the English conditional construction 'would' + infinitive, while those found in the apodoses of counterfactual conditions can be translated with 'would' + present perfect (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 751-2).

(1)

"[...] לו הואילו הוריד, כי עתה השיבו את הבית וכל אשר לו לירוחם [...]"

'[...] if your parents wanted to, they would return the house and everything within it to Jeroham [...]' (Mapu 1857-69, 230)

(2)

"שאלה גדולה שאלתני אדוני, ולו שאל אותה איש אחר, כי אז לא השיג מענה [...]"

'You have asked me a big question, my lord, and if someone else asked me they would not get an answer [...]' (Sheikewitz 1872, 83)

(3)

"[...] ולוא מצאתיו לבדו בחדר ואין איש, אז אולי בלשון אחרת דבר אלי? [...]"

'[...] and if I had found him alone in the room without anyone else, maybe he would have spoken differently to me? [...]' (Leinwand 1875-6, 1:55)

(4)

ולו היה לאל ידו, כי אז הוריד לה קערת שמים

And if only he could have, he would have plucked the moon out of the sky for her (Abramowitz 1862, 5-6)

The apodoses of Biblical Hebrew irreal conditions frequently contain *qatals* (Joüon 1993, 2:631). These *qatals* can follow introductory words such as *כי* or *אז*, as in (5) and (6) respectively; however, on many occasions, as in (7), they are not preceded by any such markers. Biblical irreal conditions can be either improbable, as in (5), or counterfactual, as in (6) and (7). In this respect the maskilic usage corresponds to and is therefore most likely based on that found in the Hebrew Bible. However, there are two differences between the two forms of the language. Firstly, irreal conditions appear only infrequently in the biblical corpus (Lambdin 1971, 278), whereas they are commonplace in maskilic literature. This dissimilarity may be explained by the fact that irreal conditions are frequently employed in Yiddish and the other languages that the authors used on a regular basis. Secondly, the *qatal* verbs in maskilic apodoses are invariably preceded by introductory markers such as *כי* or *אז*, whereas their biblical counterparts can appear in isolation. The

reason for this divergence is unclear, although it may stem from the maskilic authors' intentional or subconscious desire to signal unambiguously that the following *qatal* forms part of an irreal apodosis.

(5)

לֹא יִשׁ חֶרֶב בְּיָדִי כִּי עֲתָה הִנֵּגְתִּיךָ

If there were a sword in my hand, I would kill you now (Num. 22:29)

(6)

לֹא־אֵלָּא דִּבַּרְתָּ כִּי אֲנִי מִהִבְקָר וְנִצְלָה הָעָם אִישׁ מֵאֶחָיו

If you had not spoken, then by morning the people would have given up pursuing their brethren (2 Sam. 2:27)

(7)

לֹא הִחַיְתָם אוֹתָם לֹא הִנֵּגְתִּי אֶתְכֶם

If you had let them live, I would not kill you (Judg. 8:19)

Although Rabbinic Hebrew often employs a periphrastic construction in the apodoses of irreal conditions, it can use a *qatal* alone in such contexts (Mishor 1983, 393-4). The selection of a *qatal* rather than a compound form appears to be more common in negative apodoses (Mishor 1983, 394). The *qatals* in the apodoses of rabbinic irreal conditions do not appear to be introduced by markers such as *או* or *כי*. In this respect rabbinic and maskilic usages overlap in that both can employ *qatals* in these contexts; however, they diverge in that the language of the Mishnah and Talmud never places introductory markers before the verbs whereas the maskilic authors do so consistently.

(8)

שֶׁאִילוֹ לֹא פָסַק הַמָּן לֹא רָצוּ לֵאכֹל מִתְּבוּאֹת אֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן

For if the manna had not stopped, they would not have wanted to eat of the produce of the land of Canaan (Tosefta *Sotah* 11:2)

Israeli Hebrew almost invariably employs a periphrastic form consisting of a *qatal* followed by a *qotel* in the apodosis of improbable and counterfactual conditions, as illustrated in (9) and (10) respectively; it utilises the *qatal* in these types of apodosis only extremely rarely, typically with the modal יכול (Glinert 1982, 51; Bar 2003, 47). Thus in this regard present-day Hebrew does not generally resemble the maskilic corpus.

(9)

אילו למדת, היית מצליח

If you studied, you would succeed (Chayat, Israeli, and Kobliner 2001, 329)

(10)

אם הארכיטקט היה מתכנן כראוי, הפועלים היו גומרים את העבודה בזמן

Had the architect planned properly, the workers would have finished the job long ago (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 360)

7.3.3 *Past irrealis*

A *qatal* directly preceded by the conjunctions *כאילו* or *כמו* can indicate an action that did not actually happen, but is presented as if it had occurred in an imaginary version of the past. In some cases, such as that shown in (3), the temporal reference of the *qatal* corresponds to that of the sentence's deictic centre; in others, such as those appearing in (1) and (2), it precedes this point. *Qatals* in these contexts can refer to both punctive and progressive actions, as in (1)-(2) and (3) respectively. The authors of the corpus sometimes use *yiqtol*s and *qotel*s to convey past progressive irrealis, and in such cases their reason for selecting one form over the other on any given occasion is unclear (see 8.5.3 and 9.4.1 for examples and further discussion of factors governing the use of *yiqtol*s, *qatals*, and *qotel*s in irrealis settings). *Qatals* in past irrealis settings can usually be translated with the English construction 'as if' followed by a preterite, pluperfect, present perfect, or past progressive form or the

irrealis form 'were' depending on the context. See Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 1151-4 for details of this type of English construction.

(1)

"[...] גם המה הביטו עלינו בשאט נפש כאלו לא נבראנו בצלמם [...]"

'[...] even they looked at us in revulsion as if we were not created in their image [...]' (Brandstädter 1875, 655)

(2)

"[...] באתי אליו, כמו אשמתני וחטאתני נגדו חטאה גדולה [...]"

'[...] I came to him as if I had committed a great sin against him [...]' (Abramowitz 1862, 26)

(3)

והיא עמדה רגעים אחדים כמו בקשה מלים או כמו התאמצה לעצור בעד זרם מלים

And she stood for a few moments as if she were searching for words or as if she were struggling to stop her flood of words (Smolenskin 1873, 736)

A primary function of the *qatal* conjugation in Biblical Hebrew is the expression of perfective past actions, and irreal past events fall into this category as the speaker or narrator perceives them as complete occurrences, albeit imaginary ones. Thus the maskilic usage appears to be rooted in that of its biblical model; however, there are two differences between the corpora. Firstly, Biblical Hebrew does not contain the conjunction *כאילו* and uses only the particle *כמו* to introduce hypothetical past events. Secondly, while this type of construction is relatively common in maskilic literature it appears to be extremely rare in Biblical Hebrew: it is largely ignored in the secondary literature and (4) constitutes the only clear example of it in the entire biblical corpus.

(4)

הרינו חלנו כמו ילדנו רוח

We were with child; we writhed as though we had borne the wind (Isa. 26:18)

Rabbinic texts contain numerous references to hypothetical past actions, which are as a rule conveyed by the *qatal* as this is the conjugation typically employed in past tense contexts. The conjunction *כאילו* is generally used to introduce this type of event because it serves to equate one lexical item with another (Pérez Fernández 1999, 217; Azar 1994, 137) and thus conveys the notion that the situation under discussion is exactly the same as it would be were the action of the *qatal* actually taking place. The conjunction *כמו* does not appear to be employed in these settings. Rabbinic Hebrew thus corresponds to maskilic and biblical counterparts in that all three forms employ the *qatal* to denote irreal past actions. Furthermore, its use of the conjunction *כאילו* mirrors and therefore most likely inspired that of the maskilic authors. However, it differs from the present corpus in that the latter can additionally employ the biblical conjunction *כמו*.

(5)

העושה סוכתו תחת האילן כאלו עשאה בתוך הבית

If someone makes his sukkah under a tree, it is as if he made it inside the house (Mishnah *Sukkah* 1:2)

Israeli Hebrew can employ either the *qatal* or *qotel* preceded by *כאילו* to present hypothetical past events. The choice of conjugation depends on the event's position in time relative to the speaker or narrator: if the irreal action is perceived as past by the speaker at the time of the utterance, the *qatal* is used; by contrast, if the imaginary event is presented as if happening at the time of speaking the *qotel* is used. (6) and (7) show each of these possibilities, a *qatal* and *qotel*, in turn. In this regard Israeli Hebrew resembles its biblical, rabbinic, and maskilic antecedents in that it can employ the *qatal* in irreal past contexts. Moreover, it mirrors rabbinic and maskilic literature as well in its use of the conjunction *כאילו*. Conversely, it diverges from the maskilic corpus as it does not use the biblical *כמו* in these settings.

(6)

את נראית כאילו עוד לא עיכלת

You look as if you haven't digested yet (Glinert 1989, 135)

(7)

הרגשתי כאילו אני נופלת

I felt as if I were falling (Glinert 1989, 344)

7.3.4 *Protasis of real conditions*

Qatals are found in the protasis of real (fulfilled/factual) conditions in both direct speech and narrative portions of the corpus. They are more commonly attested in direct speech, where they invariably denote completed actions that took place at a point prior to the moment of utterance, as in (1). In narrative they usually refer to actions that took place prior to the time of the main storyline, as in (2). These *qatals* are consistently preceded by the conditional particle אם. The English translation value of these *qatals* varies depending on the context, but is most frequently 'if' followed by a preterite or other past tense form, which are used in the protasis of real conditions with past tense value (Swan 1995, 246).

(1)

"[...] אם פגע בך מנוול זה, משכחו לבית המדרש [...]"

'[...] if this scoundrel has harmed you, bring him into the study-house [...]'

(Mapu 1857-69, 234)

(2)

אם נפל דבר בכפר ידעה היא ראשונה

If something happened in the village she was the first to know (Braudes 1876a, 177)

Biblical Hebrew employs the *qatal* in the protasis of real conditions to designate past or future actions that are regarded as fulfilled (Gesenius 1910, 494-5). Such *qatals* can be introduced by the conditional particle אם (Revell,

1287). However, they are occasionally unaccompanied, with their conditional nature indicated solely by the juxtaposition of the protasis and apodosis (Joüon 1993, 2:627). (3) and (4) exemplify these possibilities respectively. This biblical phenomenon thus overlaps with that of the maskilic corpus as both can use the *qatal* in the protasis of real conditions with past tense value. However, the maskilic authors always introduce such *qatals* with אם , while Biblical Hebrew does so only inconsistently. This difference may be evidence of a degree of influence from the maskilic authors' vernacular tongues, which invariably employ conjunctions to mark the beginning of real conditional protases. Alternatively, it may stem from the fact that Biblical Hebrew real conditions without the introductory אם are relatively rare. Moreover, the two corpora differ in that the maskilic *qatals* always have past tense value while their biblical counterparts can have a future sense as well.

(3)

$\text{אם נָא מָצָאתִי חֵן בְּעֵינֶיךָ אֶל נָא תַעֲבֹר מֵעַל עַבְדְּךָ}$

If I have found favour in your eyes, please do not pass by your servant (Gen. 18:3)

(4)

$\text{מָצָא אִשָּׁה מָצָא טוֹב}$

If one has found a wife, one has found happiness (Prov. 18:22)

Rabbinic Hebrew employs the *qatal* in the protasis of real conditions in order to convey an action that has been fulfilled in the past or a future event that is already regarded as complete (Pérez Fernández 1999, 215). These *qatals* are often preceded by אם , as in (5). However, they can appear without a conjunction, their conditional nature indicated solely by the proximity of the protasis to the apodosis (Segal 1927, 228). This is shown in (6). This rabbinic practice resembles that of the maskilic corpus, with two exceptions: firstly, the former does not necessarily introduce conditional *qatals* with a particle, whereas the latter consistently does so; secondly, rabbinic *qatals* in these

positions can have future value while their maskilic equivalents invariably have past reference. By contrast, rabbinic and biblical usages are completely alike in this regard.

(5)

אם אחרתי צאו ושחטו עלי

If I am delayed, go out and sacrifice for me (Mishnah *Pesaḥim* 9:9)

(6)

קרא וטעה יחזור למקום שטעה

If one made a mistake while reciting, one must go back to the place where the mistake was made (Mishnah *Berakhot* 2:3)

Israeli Hebrew utilises the *qatal* in the protasis of real conditions when the action in question has past tense value (Bar 2003, 20-1, 113). Such *qatals* are typically introduced by אם, as in (7), though occasionally they may appear unaccompanied, as in (8). This present-day Hebrew usage is extremely similar to that found in the present corpus; however, the maskilic authors differ from modern convention in that they never omit the introductory particle.

(7)

אם הרכבת הגיעה בזמן, הם כבר יצאו הביתה

If the train left on time, they have already left for home (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 359)

(8)

שברת שילמת

If you break it you buy it (Suisa 2006)

7.3.5 Protasis of irreal conditions

The verbs appearing in the protases of irreal conditions are typically *qatals*. In positive irreal conditions such *qatals* are generally preceded by the conjunction לו/לוא, but may occasionally be introduced by אם, which is more commonly

used to initiate the protasis of real conditions. These two variants are illustrated in (1) and (2) respectively. In negative irreal conditions *לולא* or *אלמלא* are placed before the *qatal*, as in (3) and (4). In dialogue the *qatals* in irreal protases usually refer to improbable actions taking place at a hypothetical time parallel to the moment of utterance, as in (1). In some instances of direct speech and in all narrative contexts they refer to counterfactual actions that took place in an imaginary version of the past. (2)-(4) contain *qatals* with counterfactual past tense value. The English equivalent of these *qatals* varies depending on the tense value of the form in question. If the protasis refers to a present action it is rendered with the preterite or irrealis marker 'were', while if it denotes a past event it is translatable with the pluperfect (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 751-2).

(1)

"[...] ולו היה בידי מעט כסף, כי עתה הדפסתי אותן [...]"

'[...] and if I had a bit of money in my hand, I would print them [...]'

(Abramowitz 1862, 72-3)

(2)

"[...] אם הצליח חפצך בידך להיות דורש משפט לאדם רב, כי אז היית מהיר צדק [...]"

'[...] if you had succeeded in putting many people on trial, you would have quickly dispensed justice [...]' (Smolenskin 1867, 49)

(3)

ומי יודע אחריתו, לולא מהר ר' טודרוס להוציא מחיקו מחט

And who knows what his end would have been if Mr. Todros had not hurriedly taken a needle out of his pocket (Shulman 1873, 92)

(4)

"[...] שאלמלא נתנה רשות לשדכן לשקר לא נדווגה נקבה לזכר מעולם."

'[...] for if matchmakers had not been given permission to lie, no female would ever have been matched up with a male.' (Brandstädter 1873, 455)

Qatal verbs can be used in the protasis of irreal conditions in Biblical Hebrew (Waltke and O'Connor 1990, 493–4). These forms designate hypothetical actions whose fulfilment is necessary in order for the realisation of the events in the apodoses of such conditions (see 7.3.1). Such actions may be improbable, as in (5), or counterfactual, as in (6) and (7). This type of *qatal* is typically preceded by לו in positive conditions and לוֹלֵי/לוֹלָא in negative ones (Williams 1976, 86). These two variants are illustrated in (6) and (7) respectively. This biblical practice corresponds to, and therefore most likely served as the model for, the maskilic usage discussed above. However, the maskilic corpus exhibits post-biblical influence in its use of אלמלא.

(5)

לוֹ חֲכָמוֹ יִשְׁכַּילוּ זֹאת

If they were wise they would understand this (Deut. 32:29)

(6)

לוֹ הִחַיִּיתָם אוֹתָם לֹא הִרְגֵיתִי אֶתְכֶם

If you had let them live, I would not kill you (Judg. 8:19)

(7)

לוֹלֵא דִּבַּרְתָּ כִּי אֲזַי מִהֶבְקָר נִעְלָה הָעָם אִישׁ מֵאַחֲרֵי אָחִיו

If you had not spoken, then by morning the people would have given up pursuing their brethren (2 Sam. 2:27)

Although Rabbinic Hebrew frequently employs a periphrastic construction for conveying actions in the protasis of irreal conditions, it can utilise a *qatal* in the same contexts (Mishor 1983, 393–4). Such *qatals* are usually preceded by the conjunction אִילו in positive conditions and אִילוֹלֵי or אלמלא in negative ones (Pérez Fernández 1999, 217). The rabbinic corpus overlaps with both Maskilic and Biblical Hebrew in that all three types can employ *qatals* in the protases of irreal conditions. Moreover, the occasional maskilic use of

אלמלא is clearly attributable to rabbinic influence. However, the other maskilic introductory particles stem from the biblical stratum.

(8)

אילו אני פסקתי לעצמי אשב עד שילבין ראשי

If I had undertaken it myself, I would sit until my hair grows grey (Mishnah *Ketubbot* 13:5)

Israeli Hebrew can convey the action of irreal conditional protases using either אם, typically followed by a compound form (Bar 2003, 45), or אילו/לו in affirmative settings and אלו/אלמלא/לולא in negative ones followed by a compound construction or a *qatal* (Bar 2003, 47-8). Constructions with אילו/לו and a *qatal* are more formal than those with אם and a compound form (Glinert 1982, 51). The tense value of such conditional *qatals* varies depending on the context and includes a hypothetical version of the past, present or future (Glinert 1989, 135). In this respect high-register Israeli Hebrew resembles the maskilic corpus as well as its rabbinic and biblical predecessors both in its employment of the *qatal* and in its utilisation of biblical and rabbinic introductory conjunctions. This similarity between Maskilic and Israeli Hebrew could indicate that the former influenced the latter to some degree, although the present-day usage may stem directly from the biblical and rabbinic sources.

(9)

לו למדת, היית מצליח

If you studied, you would succeed (Bliboim 1995, 82)

8 YIQTOL

8.1 Past

8.1.1 General past

*Yiqtol*s frequently appear in the corpus in past contexts indicating an action or state that was generally true in the past. The verbs in question may be from active as well as stative roots but when found in this type of setting they consistently convey uninterrupted situations rather than finite actions. The translation value of these *yiqtol*s is the English preterite, which is used to designate past states (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 137). Such *yiqtol*s resemble those discussed in 8.2.1 except that they refer to the past rather than the present. The authors may have selected the *yiqtol* in this type of setting because they perceived this conjugation primarily as a marker of imperfectivity and therefore the most suitable for conveying generally valid past actions or states. However, verbs in similar contexts are attested elsewhere in the corpus as *qatal*s and there is no apparent system governing the selection of one conjugation over the other in any given instance. For example, both verbs in (1) refer to generally valid past states, but the first is a *qatal* and the second is a *yiqtol*.

(1)

על עצמות לחייו הבולטות מעט שכנה עזות פנים ובקמטי שפתותיו תקנן ערמה ומזמת לב

There was an air of insolence to his slightly protruding cheeks, and cunning and deviousness rested in the folds of his lips (Gordon 1874b, 5)

(2)

רוח גאה וגאון נוססה בו עד כי לא יחשוב את כל אדם לאיש כערכו

A spirit of pride and haughtiness stirred in him until he no longer considered every man to be his equal (Braudes 1873, 20)

While Biblical Hebrew typically employs the *qatal* when designating stative verbs with past reference (Joüon 1993, 2:365), it can use the *yiqtol* to

indicate stative situations ‘existing without interruption’ in the past (Waltke and O’Connor 1990, 503). Such verbs may be from active roots, as in (3). This biblical usage resembles that found in the maskilic corpus; however, it is unclear whether the correspondence is the product of a conscious maskilic desire to replicate this biblical phenomenon or simply the result of the general maskilic understanding of the *yiqtol* as primarily a marker of imperfective aspect irrespective of tense.

(3)

וּבְלוּלִים יָשְׁלוּ עַל הַתִּיכָנָה

And stairs led up to the middle level (1 Kings 6:8)

The *yiqtol* conjugation in Rabbinic Hebrew serves primarily as a marker of modality (Sharvit 2004, 58). It is never employed in past tense contexts and therefore does not correspond to the maskilic usage discussed above. This suggests that in this respect the authors of the maskilic corpus were influenced by the biblical model rather than by rabbinic literature.

The *yiqtol* in Israeli Hebrew functions as a future tense and is not used in past tense contexts with the exception of the ‘future in the past’ (see 8.3.1). Thus the maskilic use of the *yiqtol* to indicate generally valid past states has no parallel in the modern language.

8.1.2 *Past habitual*

The authors of the corpus typically convey repeated past actions using the *qatal* conjugation or a periphrastic construction (see 7.1.1 and 10.2). However, they sometimes employ the *yiqtol* in contexts indicating that the action in question took place on multiple occasions in the past. These *yiqtols* are translatable with the English preterite or the periphrastic constructions ‘used to’ or ‘would’ + infinitive, which are used with reference to repeated past actions (Swan 1995, 416, 604, 633). The fact that the authors sometimes selected this conjugation in past habitual contexts supports the possibility that they associated the *yiqtol* primarily with iterativity rather than with any

particular tense value. Alternatively, the authors may not have had such a precise analytic understanding of the role of the conjugation and instead used it on these occasions only because it occurs in similar contexts in the Bible. However, while the particular *yiqtol*s concerned are attested in the Hebrew Bible, they do not appear in past habitual contexts and therefore the maskilic forms are original interpretations as opposed to straightforward instances of *shibbus*.

(1)

לעתים תעבור שפעת אנשים לפני ארון מת

Sometimes a flood of people would pass before a casket (Smolenskin 1867, 7)

(2)

להקות להקות בלבושי שבת ויו"ט ידודן כמשתגעים במחולות והוללות לבוא אל החופה

Groups in Sabbath and holiday clothes would skip like crazy people, dancing and going wild, towards the wedding canopy (Dick 1867, 313)

Biblical Hebrew typically employs the *yiqtol* to designate actions that recurred over and over at a time prior to the present moment. This is in keeping with the fact that the chief role of this conjugation in Biblical Hebrew is the presentation of iterative and unfinished actions regardless of tense value. The maskilic usage discussed above overlaps with that of its biblical predecessor; however, the two corpora differ significantly in that the maskilic authors employ the *yiqtol* in past habitual contexts only rarely, whereas the Hebrew Bible does so relatively consistently.

(3)

וְכֵן יַעֲשֶׂה שָׁנָה בְּשָׁנָה

And thus he would do year after year (1 Sam. 1:7)

Rabbinic Hebrew can employ the *qatal* or *qotel* with reference to recurring past actions (Segal 1927, 152; Pérez Fernández 1999, 134-5) but

frequently uses a post-biblical periphrastic form in such contexts (Pérez Fernández 1999, 137), as in (4). It does not use the *yiqtol* in past habitual settings, as this conjugation functions largely as a marker of modality in Rabbinic Hebrew (Sharvit 2004, 49) rather than as a signaller of imperfective aspect. Thus the maskilic use of the *yiqtol* when referring to past habitual actions has no counterpart in the language of the Mishnah and Talmud. However, the fact that the maskilic authors employ the *yiqtol* in such settings only rarely may be evidence of rabbinic influence on their usage.

(4)

היו נועלין ומניחין את המפתח בחלון שעל גבי הפתח

They used to lock up and put the key in a window over the door (Mishnah 'Eruvin 10:9)

Israeli Hebrew occasionally conveys past habitual events using the *qatal* in combination with a time adverbial, but typically employs a specific periphrastic construction comprising the *qatal* of the root ה.י.ה and a *qotel* of the main verb to designate such actions, as in (5). The *yiqtol* is not employed in such settings as this conjugation functions as a marker of future tense in the modern language. Thus the maskilic usage discussed above has no equivalent in Israeli Hebrew.

(5)

הילד היה מנגן בפסנתר כל יום אחר הצהריים

The boy used to play the piano every afternoon (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 298)

8.1.3 *Past progressive*

The *yiqtol* can be used in contexts indicating that the action to which it refers was an ongoing process taking place at some point in the past. In many cases, such as those shown in (1)-(3), these *yiqtol*s appear in close proximity to a *qatal* designating a preterite action. This juxtaposition gives the impression that the durative *yiqtol* action started before and progressed until that of the punctive

qatal. These *yiqtol*s are best rendered into English with the past progressive, which is the form used to convey ongoing past actions (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 162-4). *Qatals* can be used in identical contexts (see 7.1.2), and there does not appear to be a systematic reason for selecting one conjugation over the other in any given instance. The fact that *yiqtol*s are used in past progressive settings suggests that the maskilic authors perceived their primary role to be the expression of imperfectivity rather than the designation of non-past actions. The authors' understanding of the *yiqtol* thus seems to contrast with that of the *qatal*, which they employ chiefly as a marker of past tense rather than as a signaller of perfective aspect.

(1)

רגעים אחדים הקשבתי ואשמע את אשר ידברו

For a few moments I listened to what they were saying (Gordon 1874b, 13)

(2)

הקיצה מתרדמתה הנוראה, ותרא והנה אחוזה בין זרועות בתה שרה, אשר תבך מאד

She woke up from her terrible unconsciousness, and saw that she was being held in the arms of her daughter Sarah, who was crying a great deal (Braudes 1873, 25)

(3)

”[...] ביום השוק בעיר השפלה עמדתי לפני שנים והתבוננתי על המון הרב אשר בחצותיה, זה ילך וזה ירוץ זה יבוא וזה ישוב איש לדרכו יפנה. ופתאום נשמע קול [...]”

‘[...] on market day in the town on the plain I stood years ago and watched the big crowd on its streets, one was walking and one was running, one was coming and one was going, each one was going a separate direction. And suddenly a voice was heard [...]’ (Shulman 1866, 1:10)

While the Biblical Hebrew verbal system typically employs the *yiqtol* as a marker of durativity, it uses the *qotel* to convey past actions in a state of ‘continuance’ (Driver 1892, 27-8, 166); the *yiqtol* is not employed in this type of context (Joosten 1999, 22). Such actions correspond to those indicated by

*yiqtol*s in the maskilic corpus. (4) illustrates the biblical practice of rendering this type of action with a *qotel*. Thus the maskilic use of the *yiqtol* in past progressive settings conforms to the biblical perception of this conjugation as a marker of imperfectivity; however, it does not appear to be rooted in actual biblical usage. The maskilic practice may therefore constitute an instance of the corpus' authors taking a biblical principle and adapting it, whether intentionally or inadvertently, for use in original contexts.

(4)

וְהָיָה אֲנֹחְנוּ מְאַלְמִים אֲלֵמִים בְּתוֹךְ הַשָּׂדֶה וְהָיָה קִמָּה אֲלֵמָתִי

We were binding sheaves in the field when my sheaf stood up (Gen. 37:7)

(5)

וַיַּחְלֹם וְהָיָה סֹלָם מֻצָּב אֶרֶצָה וְרֹאשׁוֹ מֵגִיעַ הַשָּׁמַיְמָה וְהָיָה מַלְאֲכֵי אֱלֹהִים עֹלִים וְיֹרְדִים בּוֹ

He dreamed that a ladder was set on the ground, with its top reaching up to the heavens, and angels of God were going up and down on it (Gen. 28:12)

Rabbinic Hebrew generally uses a periphrastic construction consisting of a *qatal* of the verb ה.י.ה. followed by a *qotel* to indicate an ongoing past action, as in (6). Rabbinic usage contrasts with that of the maskilic writings discussed above and therefore rabbinic literature cannot be said to have contributed to the present corpus in this respect.

(6)

פַּעַם אַחַת הָיִינוּ יוֹשְׁבִים לִפְנֵי רַבִּי טַרְפוֹן, וּבָאתָה יְבִמָּה לַחֲלוּץ

Once we were sitting before Rabbi Tarfon when a sister-in-law came to perform *halisah* (Babylonian Talmud *Yevamot* 106b)

Israeli Hebrew, unlike all earlier forms of the language, typically uses the *qatal* to express ongoing past actions (Glinert 1989, 125; Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 40) (see 10.1 for exceptions). This is most likely because the *qatal* serves as the modern language's past tense and is used for almost all actions

occurring prior to the present moment, including those of a progressive nature. An adverbial such as בדיוק is often found in conjunction with the *qatal* to highlight the progressive nature of the action in question. These points are shown in (7). Thus the maskilic use of the *yiqtol* in past progressive settings was not transferred into present-day Hebrew.

(7)

כשצילצלת, אני בדיוק דיפדפתי בו

When you rang, I was just leafing through it (Glinert 1989, 125)

8.1.4 Preterite

Yiqtols are occasionally attested in the corpus in contexts indicating that they refer to single, punctive past actions. While it may in some cases be possible to give an alternate interpretation to the verbs in question, for example that they designate present or durative past actions, their settings and the meanings of their roots strongly indicate that they refer to preterite events. The relatively large number of such cases and the fact that they are often surrounded by *qatal* verbs with clear preterite value add weight to this reading. The use of the *yiqtol* to designate a perfective past action is remarkable because it suggests that the maskilic authors did not perceive this conjugation purely as a marker of imperfective aspect but rather employed it indiscriminately in a larger variety of past tense contexts. It is, however, possible that the authors chose to use the *yiqtol* in these cases because they specifically desired to present the actions in question as imperfective processes despite the fact that their contexts seem to indicate punctive past events. The translation value of these *yiqtols* is the English preterite tense, which is used to convey punctive past actions (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 137-8). While this rendering seems to be at odds with the possibility that the authors used the *yiqtol* in these circumstances in order to present the actions concerned imperfectively, the contexts in which the verbs appear necessitate such an English translation.

(1)

”אויה לי!” יצעק מנחמת לבו בקפצו ממשכבו [...] ”היא! היא!” קרא ברצו כמשתגע

‘Woe is me!’ he cried in misery, jumping off his bed [...] ‘Her! Her!’ he cried, running like a madman (Brandstädter 1875, 660-1)

(2)

”אחרית נעמן נכרתה” ענה לוי – וגעל ישא ראש בראותו, כי ה’ אתו

‘Na’aman’s end has been decreed,’ answered Levi – and Ga’al raised his head as he saw that the Lord was with him (Mapu 1857-69, 242)

(3)

”משרת!” הנה כן יקרא גם האציל הפולני את הנער העברי

‘Servant!’ now the Polish nobleman called the Hebrew youth as well (Shulman 1873, 100)

Although Biblical Hebrew typically employs the *yiqtol* in imperfective, unfinished and modal contexts, this conjugation may in certain specific instances be used to convey punctive past events. The cases in question are few in number and often occur following the telic adverbials *טרם*, *בטרם*, and *אז* though sometimes they are found alone. It is possible that this preterite use of the *yiqtol* can be traced back to the proto-Hebrew verbal system, in which a long *yaqtulu* and short *yaqtul* conjugation existed side by side with the former conveying preterite action and the latter imperfectivity; these forms later merged to create the Biblical Hebrew *yiqtol*, and while this conjugation was predominantly used to indicate imperfectivity remnants of the preterite function remained in the biblical corpus (Waltke and O’Connor 1990, 496-501). (4) and (5) illustrate such instances. Alternatively, Zevit (1988, 30-1) suggests that the sole function of the biblical *yaqtul* is to indicate present-future tense, and that all attestations of this form in preterite settings are actually instances of the narrative present. DeCaen (1995, 261-2) supports Zevit’s interpretation. Similarly, Revell (1989, 10-1) argues that *yiqtols* in seemingly preterite contexts actually refer to events with some kind of relative present or future reference.

Because the *yiqtol* appears in punctive past contexts in the Hebrew Bible as well as maskilic texts and is unusual in both, it could be that the authors of the present corpus based their writing on biblical precedent. However, it is also possible that the similarity is a coincidence and that the maskilic writers did not intentionally set out to mimic the biblical phenomenon. This prospect is supported by the fact that none of the maskilic instances shown above has a biblical counterpart and therefore the maskilic usage cannot be attributed to *shibbus*.

(4)

וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלֶיךָ מִמִּצְרַיִם וָאֵבִיָּא אֲתָכֶם אֶל הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי לְאַבְרָהָם

He said, I took you up from Egypt and brought you to the land that I swore to your ancestors (Judg. 2:1)

(5)

אָז יָשִׁיר מֹשֶׁה וּבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת הַשִּׁירָה הַזֹּאת לַיהוָה

Then Moses and the Israelites sang this song to the Lord (Exod. 15:1)

Rabbinic Hebrew employs the *yiqtol* in a variety of future and modal contexts, but never to convey past actions such as those discussed above; therefore in this respect the maskilic usage cannot be compared to its rabbinic antecedent.

Israeli Hebrew never uses the *yiqtol* in preterite contexts; this is because the conjugation serves to express future meaning in the modern language's tripartite tense system and has no past tense functions with the exception of the 'future in the past' (see 8.3.1). Thus present-day Hebrew and the maskilic corpus do not correspond in this instance.

8.2 Present

8.2.1 Gnomic present

The *yiqtol* is the form most commonly used in the corpus to express scientific facts, permanent emotional states, and other situations that are valid at all

times. Verbs used in such contexts are generally stative; this is because eternal truths are characteristically states rather than actions, which by definition have a beginning and an end. *Yiqtol*s found in these contexts are translatable with the English present tense, which is used to express generally valid states (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 127). It is possible that the authors chose this conjugation when presenting such states because they perceived them as unfinished processes and therefore associated them with the imperfectivity of the *yiqtol*; however, the fact that they employed the *yiqtol* in seemingly perfective contexts as well may suggest that they did not have aspectual considerations in mind. A special case in this category is the verb *יָדַע*, which, though frequently occurring as a *qatal* in this type of context (see 7.2.1), is often attested in the *yiqtol* with similar meaning. There does not seem to be a syntactic or semantic reason for the variation between the two conjugations.

(1)

”[...] אֵךְ לֹא אִשָּׁנָה אֶת שׂוֹנְאֵי נַפְשָׁם [...]”

‘[...] but I don’t hate their enemies [...]’ (Mapu 1857-69, 229)

(2)

”בְּהִשְׁגָּחָה פְּרִטִּית אֱלֹהִים [...]”

‘I believe in divine providence [...]’ (Smolenskin 1872, 474)

(3)

”[...] תָּם אֲנִי וְלֹא אֲדַע נַפְשִׁי [...]”

‘[...] I am simple, and don’t know my own mind [...]’ (Brock 1877, 222)

While *qatals*, *qotels* and *yiqtol*s are all attested in Biblical Hebrew in contexts indicating ‘general truths’ (Joüon 1993, 2:366-7), there are some trends governing the use of one form as opposed to the other. Stative verbs in this type of setting usually appear as *qatals*; by contrast, active verbs are more commonly rendered with *yiqtol*s (Joüon 1993, 2:366), though they do additionally appear infrequently as *qatals* (Waltke and O’Connor 1990, 488;

Van der Merwe, Naudé, and Kroeze 1999, 146). There is a fundamental semantic difference between stative and active verbs in that the former can convey eternally valid states whereas the latter by nature signify finite actions that have a beginning and end; thus, despite Joüon's designation of certain active *yiqtol*s as gnomic presents, such verbs actually present actions as 'occurring over and over again' rather than as eternal (Waltke and O'Connor 1990, 506). As such they are better classified as 'habitual presents' (see 8.2.2). (4) and (5) illustrate in turn a stative *qatal* as a gnomic present and an active *yiqtol* as a habitual present. The verb יָע with gnomic present force is usually found as a *qatal*, as in (6). It appears only infrequently as a *yiqtol* (Joüon 1993, 2:359), as in (7); this root therefore conforms to the expected biblical treatment of a stative verb in such a context. The biblical presentation of stative gnomic presents thus differs from that of the maskilic corpus, as the former uses the *qatal* and the latter the *yiqtol*; in the case of יָע the two forms of Hebrew overlap to some extent though the maskilic texts use the *yiqtol* to a greater extent than their biblical counterparts.

(4)

וַעֲשֵׂה לִי מִטַּעֲמִים כַּאֲשֶׁר אֲהַבְתִּי וְהָבִי־אָה לִּי וְאֵכְלָה

And prepare me a dish such as I love and bring it to me so that I may eat
(Gen. 27:4)

(5)

בֶּן חָכָם יִשְׂמַח אָב

A wise son gladdens his father

(Prov. 15:20)

(6)

וְאֲנִי יָדַעְתִּי כִּי לֹא יִתֶּן אֶתְכֶם מֶלֶךְ מִצְרַיִם לְהֵלֶךְ וְלֹא בְדֵי חֲזָקָה

But I know that the King of Egypt will not let you go except by force (Exod. 3:19)

(7)

אתה המלכת את עבדך תחת דוד אבי ואנכי נער קטן לא אדע צאת ובוא

You have made Your servant king instead of my father David, though I am a youth and I do not know the way of things (1 Kings 3:7)

Rabbinic Hebrew usually employs the *qotel* to indicate states with a 'timeless quality' (Pérez Fernández 1999, 133). While *qatals* are sometimes used in similar circumstances, their verbs are generally active and thus the statements in question are more accurately designated habitual presents as they convey actions recurring on many instances rather than states that are true at all times. Comparison of the active *qatals* in (8) with the stative *qotels* in (9) illustrates this distinction. Rabbinic usage thus differs from that of the Bible as well as the maskilic corpus, in that it typically utilises the *qotel* rather than the *qatal* or *yiqtol* to suggest the gnomic present.

(8)

נכנס יין יצא סוד

When wine goes in, secrets go out (Babylonian Talmud 'Eruvin 65a)

(9)

אמרו לו מנין אתה יודע

They said to him, 'How do you know?' (Mishnah *Berakhot* 5:5)

Israeli Hebrew typically employs the *qotel* to indicate that a stative verb has gnomic present force. This is most likely due to the fact that the *qotel* serves chiefly as a present tense in the modern stage of the language, and eternally valid states fall into this category. The verb ידע is included in this designation: it almost invariably appears as a *qotel* when referring to a state with continual relevance, as in (11). However, on occasion in songs the *yiqtol* can be employed in gnomic present contexts (O. Schwarzwald, personal communication). Israeli Hebrew thus resembles its rabbinic antecedent to a greater extent than it does either biblical or maskilic writings, given that

Israeli and Rabbinic Hebrew generally make use of the *qotel* to convey gnomic present meaning whereas their biblical and maskilic counterparts customarily employ the *qatal* and *yiqtol*.

(10)

הוא לא מבין עברית

He doesn't understand Hebrew (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 366)

(11)

ואת ידעת מה שם הרחוב שלך?

And do you know the name of your street? (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 371)

8.2.2 *Habitual present*

Yiqtols are frequently used in the corpus in situations suggesting that their actions take place on multiple occasions, often on a habitual basis. Such verbs have present tense value because, although they refer to a variety of particular events happening on different occasions, the statements containing them convey 'a characteristic situation that holds at all times' including the present moment (Comrie 1985, 39). *Yiqtols* found in this type of context are best translated with the English present tense, the form used to convey habitually recurring actions (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 128). Verbs in this sort of context are similar to those discussed in 8.2.1, but can be distinguished by the fact that they designate recurring actions instead of eternally valid states. *Yiqtol* verbs found in this type of surrounding are often accompanied by time adverbials indicating the frequency with which their action occurs. The *yiqtol* is the most regularly attested form appearing in such settings, and this trend raises the possibility that the authors believed the expression of habituality to be one of this conjugation's key functions.

(1)

לא אחת ולא שנים ילקחו ממנו תלמידיו באמצע הזמן

Often his pupils are taken away from him in the middle of term (Liebermann 1878, 92)

(2)

"[...] כי לא צדיק אני [...] כר' גדאיל, אשר יקדשוהו בכל סעודת מצוה [...]"

'[...] for I am not as righteous [...] as Reb Gadiel, whom they honour at every festive meal [...]' (Mapu 1857-69, 236)

(3)

"[...] היא תתאונן תמיד על גורלה המר [...]"

'[...] she always complains about her bitter fate [...]' (Meinkin 1881, 17)

Biblical Hebrew usually employs the *yiqtol* in settings wherein the verb refers to an action that takes place repeatedly or habitually (Joüon 1993, 2:366; Williams 1976, 31). Because the primary function of the *yiqtol* in this form of Hebrew is the portrayal of events as imperfective, the tendency to employ this form in habitual settings suggests that the biblical perception of such actions was as processes with various components rather than as perfective entities. In this regard maskilic practice mirrors, and was thus most likely intentionally modelled on, that of its biblical antecedent. However, it is less clear whether the maskilic authors were aware of the conceptual basis underlying the biblical choice to use this form in habitual contexts. While they too may have understood the main role of the biblical *yiqtol* to be the expression of imperfectivity, on the other hand it is possible that they used this form in such settings merely because their biblical model did so, without examining the reasons behind this.

(4)

וַיִּרְדְּפוּ אֹתְכֶם כַּאֲשֶׁר תַּעֲשִׂינָה הַדְּבָרִים

And they chased you as the bees do (Deut. 1:44)

Rabbinic Hebrew generally employs the *qotel* to designate customary actions (Mishor 1983, 251, 263). The rabbinic verbal system is more tense-

based than its aspectually oriented biblical predecessor, and part of this shift involved the incorporation of the *qotel* into the tense structure where it functions largely as a present and future. Habitual events are considered a type of present tense, and this is most likely the reason that rabbinic texts convey them using *qotel* forms. This usage does not resemble that found in the present corpus, and thus maskilic authors cannot be said to have drawn on rabbinic writings either deliberately or subconsciously when developing it.

(5)

הנכנס לבית המרחץ מקום שבני אדם עומדין לבושין יש שם מקרא ותפלה

One who goes into the bathhouse, in a place where people wear clothes [lit: stand dressed] one can read the Bible and pray there (Tosefta *Berakhot* 3:3)

Israeli Hebrew generally employs the *qotel* with reference to habitually occurring actions (Glinert 1989, 122). This practice, shown in (6), is in keeping with the chief role of the *qotel* in the present-day form of the language, the expression of all types of present tense. Muchnik (1989, 35) and Tzivoni (1991, 61) add that the *yiqtol* is sometimes utilised in the written language in habitual present contexts, as in (7). However, this phenomenon appears to be relatively limited. Thus in this respect Israeli Hebrew usage does not resemble that of the maskilic corpus, although the written registers occasionally overlap with it.

(6)

כל יום הם יוצאים מהבית בשבע

Every day they leave home at seven (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 36)

(7)

לפעמים יבואו קטעים שבהם צורות בינוני המביעות זמן הווה

Sometimes passages appear with *qotel* forms expressing the present tense (Tzivoni 1991, 77)

8.2.3 *Immediate present*

*Yiqtol*s are frequently found in positions indicating that the action in question is taking place at the immediate present, the moment of utterance. *Yiqtol*s in this type of setting typically appear in direct speech, but in some cases, such as that shown in (1), are found in narrative set at the present moment. Some such *yiqtol*s designate relatively punctive events valid for only a short period, as in (1). By contrast others, such as that appearing in (2), indicate more durative actions that began prior to and extend beyond the present moment. While most actions taking place at the time of a statement are still incomplete at its close, and thus the actions denoted by both subcategories can be considered unfinished processes, some, such as that appearing in the present narrative in (1), are of relatively brief duration and therefore do not readily lend themselves to an imperfective reading. Thus, while the maskilic authors' selection of the *yiqtol* to render these types of actions may indicate that they perceived them as primarily imperfective, it is possible that they were motivated not by aspectual considerations but rather by an association in their minds between this form and the present moment. The value of *yiqtol*s in these contexts generally corresponds to that of the English present progressive tense, which is used to express actions taking place at the time of utterance or during a more prolonged period considered by the speaker or writer to include the present moment (Swan 1995, 460-1). However, *yiqtol*s in present narrative referring to punctive actions are better translated with the English simple present, as in the translation of (1).

(1)

עתה דמעה תרד את תוך הכוס

Now a tear falls into the cup (Frischmann 1878, 157)

(2)

"נדבה נבקש להכנסת כלה"

'We are asking for donations for a bride' (Gordon 1874b, 9)

Biblical Hebrew generally employs either a *yiqtol* or *qotel* when the action in question is occurring in the immediate present (Joüon 1993, 2:367, 409; Williams 1976, 39), as in (3) and (4) respectively. Selection of the *yiqtol* in such contexts is in keeping with the chief biblical use of that conjugation, namely the expression of imperfectivity, habituality or incompleteness: the fact that a given action is taking place at the moment of utterance typically implies that it is unfinished at that time. The only exception to these tendencies is found with verbs designating actions of such a short duration that the very fact of their utterance renders them complete; in such context the *qatal* is commonly used (Joüon 1993, 2:362-3; Williams 1976, 30). This convention, shown in (5), is largely restricted to verbs of speaking. Thus the maskilic usage discussed above has an identical biblical counterpart in cases wherein the *yiqtol* in question refers to an action unfinished at the time of utterance; however, as discussed above, this resemblance does not necessarily mean that the authors of the present corpus were aware of the aspectual basis for the biblical use of *yiqtol*s in this type of setting. Moreover, the maskilic use of the *yiqtol* to denote punctive actions in present narrative appears to lack direct biblical precedent and may instead be evidence of the maskilic authors adapting a biblical principle for use in original contexts with a different aspectual value.

(3)

וַיִּשְׁאַלְהוּ הָאִישׁ לֵאמֹר מָה תִּבְקֹשׁ

The man asked him, 'What are you looking for?' (Gen. 37:15)

(4)

וַיֹּאמֶר אֶת אֲחֵי אֲנֹכִי מִבְקֹשׁ

He said, 'I am looking for my brothers' (Gen. 37:16)

(5)

וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ הַמֶּלֶךְ לְמָה תִּדְבֹּר עוֹד דְּבַרְיִךְ אֲמַרְתִּי אֶתָּה וְצִיָּבָא תִּחְלְקוּ אֶת הַשָּׂדֶה

The king said to him, 'Why are you still speaking of your affairs? I decree that you and Ziba shall divide the land' (1 Sam. 19:30)

The *qotel* is the only verbal form used in Rabbinic Hebrew to convey an action taking place at the present moment (Azar 1995, 17). Because such actions by definition constitute a type of present tense, this practice is in keeping with the fact that the key function of the *qotel* in rabbinic writings is the expression of present and future tense. Rabbinic usage thus differs from the maskilic phenomenon discussed above.

(6)

כל שנכנס לה ואין אומר מה אתה מבקש פטורה

Any [courtyard] into which one can enter without anyone saying, 'What are you looking for?' is exempt (Mishnah *Ma'aserot* 3:5)

In Israeli Hebrew the *qotel* is the only verbal form used to convey actions taking place at the present moment. This is logical given the fact that the *qotel* functions as a present tense in the modern form of the language. Israeli Hebrew never employs the *yiqtol* with present meaning and thus does not exhibit influence from the maskilic literature in this regard.

(7)

היא לא יכולה לדבר עכשיו בטלפון כי היא עובדת

She can't talk on the phone now because she is working (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 36)

8.2.4 *Present perfect progressive*

The maskilic authors occasionally employ the *yiqtol* in direct speech contexts indicating that the action of the verb concerned began some time in the past and continued until the moment of utterance. Such *yiqtol*s are often accompanied by time adverbials indicating the extent of the action's duration. (1)-(3) illustrate this tendency. *Yiqtol*s in these contexts have present tense

value as they refer to actions that began in the past but are still valid at the present moment. The English equivalent of these *yiqtol*s is usually the present perfect progressive tense, which is used to designate an action that began in the past and continued up to the present moment (Swan 1995, 424), as in the translations of (1) and (2). However, certain verbs, particularly those with stative meaning, cannot be used in the progressive form even when appearing in a progressive context, and therefore must be rendered with the present perfect (Swan 1995, 426, 464), as in the translation of (3). The authors' selection of the *yiqtol* in these circumstances may be rooted in their association between this conjugation and unfinished actions; however, the fact that they used the form in apparently perfective contexts as well means that their choice of the *yiqtol* in these cases was not necessarily aspectually motivated. Moreover, they often employed the *qotel* in similar contexts, with the choice of one form over the other seeming to be arbitrary.

(1)

"[...] וצפנת תכלכל את דברי המלון זה שבע שנים [...]"

'[...] and Zofnat has been running the inn for the past seven years [...]' (Mapu 1857, 227)

(2)

"[...] והשנית, להשכיל נערים משולחים, אשר לאחרונה יפיצו אור ההשכלה [...]"

'[...] and the second one is to educate youths who have been sent out, who have recently been spreading the light of the Haskalah [...]' (Abramowitz 1862, 66)

(3)

"[...] זה כירחים שנים אשר לא אשקוט ולא אנוח [...]"

'[...] for months and years I have not quietened or rested [...]' (Braudes 1873, 21)

In Biblical Hebrew events that began in the past and continued up to the present moment are generally rendered using the *qatal* (Waltke and O'Connor 1990, 487-8; Joüon 1993, 2:362). Despite the fact that this type of action is generally unfinished at the time of utterance, the *yiqtol* does not appear to be employed in such contexts. In this respect the maskilic practice has no clear biblical precedent. However, it is possible that, as in other cases, the maskilic authors took the biblical principle of using the *yiqtol* for durative actions and applied it in an original setting.

(4)

וְאֲנִי הִתְהַלַּכְתִּי לִפְנֵיכֶם מִנְעָרִי עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה

And I have led/been leading you from my youth until this day (1 Sam. 12:2)

Rabbinic Hebrew uses the *qotel* to convey a progressive action that started in the past and continued up to the present moment (Mishor 1983, 258), as in (5). In this regard maskilic literature does not correspond to, and therefore does not appear to have been influenced by, its rabbinic predecessor.

(5)

הָרִי אַרְבַּע שָׁנִים אֲנִי מִיִּצְטָעָר בּוֹ חִינָם

I have been labouring for them for four years, in vain (Weiss 1862, 90a)

In Israeli Hebrew the *qotel* is used to express present actions continuing from the past (Tzivoni 1991, 57). The *yiqtol*, which serves as a marker of future tense and modality, is never found in such a capacity. Thus the present maskilic phenomenon did not contribute to Israeli Hebrew usage.

(6)

הִיא יוֹשֶׁבֶת וּמוֹחֶכֶת כָּאן כִּבְר שָׁעוֹת

She has been sitting and waiting here for hours (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 36)

8.3 Future

8.3.1 Future in the past

Frequently in past narrative portions of the corpus a *qatal* or *wayyiqtol* in a main clause indicating a past action that comprises part of the story's narrative is followed by a *yiqtol* in a subordinate clause denoting another action expected to occur at a point posterior to the main narrative sequence though still prior to the present moment. The authors' selection of the *yiqtol* to convey such 'futures in the past' may be rooted in a perceived connection between imperfectivity and the incompleteness of an action unfulfilled at the time of narration. Alternatively, their associations between the *yiqtol* and the present and future tense may have been the predominant factor behind the consistent use of this conjugation in such contexts. These *yiqtol*s can be equated with the English constructions 'was/were going to' or 'would' + infinitive or the past progressive, which are used with reference to the future in the past (Swan 1995, 218-9).

(1)

ונפשם חכתה לנעמן, מבטחם עוז, אשר ישוב עוד מעט

And they waited for Na'aman, the source of their confidence, who was to return shortly (Mapu 1857-69, 216)

(2)

אחרי מותם לקחה מרים אל בית דודה אחי אביה העשיר עד אשר תגדל

After their death Miriam was taken to the house of her rich uncle, her father's brother, until she grew up (Frischmann 1878, 158)

Biblical Hebrew employs the *yiqtol* in dependent clauses to present a 'consequent action' that is 'past with reference to the absolute time of the speaker but future to some other situation' (Waltke and O'Connor 1990, 513; see also Joüon 1993, 2:366). This usage is comparable to that found in the present corpus, and the similarity between the two forms of the language suggests that the maskilic practice was inspired by biblical precedent.

(3)

וַיָּבֵא אֶל הָאָדָם לִרְאוֹת מַה יִּקְרָא לוֹ

And He brought them to Adam to see what he would call them (Gen. 2:19)

Although the scholarly literature does not specifically address the rabbinic presentation of actions set prior to the present moment but posterior to the main reference point of the sentence, Segal (1927, 157) cites a *qotel* found in a similar context; this might indicate that the *qotel* is the form used in tannaitic and amoraic literature to convey this type of action. If so, the maskilic usage discussed above does not appear to stem from Rabbinic Hebrew.

(4)

ראה שמתחייב בדין ואמר קרבו פלוני

He saw that he was going to be found guilty, and said, 'Bring so-and-so here' (Mishnah *Sanhedrin* 3:8)

Israeli Hebrew uses the *yiqtol* in order to present an action expected to take place at a point following that of a preceding *qatal* but nevertheless prior to the present moment (Tzivoni 1991, 84), as in (5). In this way present-day Hebrew resembles that of the maskilic corpus, though it is difficult to know whether this is coincidental or the result of maskilic influence on the modern language.

(5)

הוא ידע שזה יפגע בנו, ובכל זאת הוא עשה את זה

He knew it would hurt us, but he did it anyhow (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 338)

8.3.2 *Intended future*

The *yiqtol* is regularly used in direct speech and first person narrative portions of the corpus indicating that the subject of the verb in question intends to

perform its action at a point following the moment of speaking. The subject of *yiqtol* in this type of setting is most frequently the speaker, as in (1)-(3), but on occasion may be the addressee or a third party, as in (4) and (5) respectively. Sometimes, as in (1), the context in which the *yiqtol* is found suggests that the subject decided to perform the action prior to the time of utterance. In other instances, such as that shown in (2), the decision to perform the *yiqtol* action appears to be a spontaneous one made at the moment of speech. *Yiqtol*s in these contexts often have a modal nuance of desire, particularly in the negative as in (3). The authors' frequent selection of the *yiqtol* in this type of setting may be attributable to their association of this conjugation with the present and future tense as well as with unfinished actions. *Yiqtol*s in such settings can be equated with two English constructions, both of which express intended actions but each with a slightly different shade of meaning. The first, consisting of 'is/are going to' + infinitive, is used when the decision to perform the future action was made some time prior to the present, while the second, composed of 'will' + infinitive, refers to spontaneous decisions (Swan 1995, 211, 215). Both variants are illustrated in the English translations of (1)-(5).

(1)

"[...] שמה **אדבר** נכבדות בבת איש אשר אחד [...]"

'[...] I am going to speak seriously about the daughter of a rich man there [...]'

(Abramowitz 1862, 73)

(2)

"[...] מעתה **אתפאר** כי שם ישראל נקרא עלי!"

'[...] from now on I will be proud to be called a Jew!' (Smolenskin 1867, 55)

(3)

"לא **אתן** לכן מאומה!"

'I shan't give you anything!' (Gordon 1874b, 9)

(4)

”ומה תעשה אתה שמה?”

‘And what are you going to do there?’ (Smolenskin 1873, 714)

(5)

”מחר יעבור המלך דרך עירנו”

‘Tomorrow the king is going to pass through our town’ (Eisenstadt 1870, 247)

While the Hebrew Bible frequently employs the *yiqtol* with reference to future events (Joüon 1993, 2:366), it does not appear to do so in situations involving a nuance of intent such as those discussed above. Instead, Biblical Hebrew uses the *qatal* or, with a first person subject, cohortative form when the future action contains an element of ‘resolve’ (Waltke and O’Connor 1990, 489, 573; see also Gesenius 1910, 312, 319). These trends are shown in (6) and (7) respectively. The *qotel* is often employed when the intended action is ‘on the point of occurring’ (Van der Merwe, Naudé, and Kroeze 1999, 162), as in (8). Finally, in some instances the *yiqtol* is found in this type of context, as shown in (9); however, this phenomenon is not addressed in the secondary literature and its extent is unclear. Biblical usage thus differs from that of maskilic literature in this respect as it does not regularly utilise the *yiqtol* to convey intention, whereas the authors of the present corpus do so reasonably consistently. It is possible that the maskilic convention can be traced to a false analogy with its biblical model: because the *yiqtol* is often used in the Bible with future tense value, the maskilic authors may have associated it with all types of future action and mistakenly broadened its remit to include those with an element of intention.

(6)

נְתַתִּי כֶסֶף הַשָּׂדֶה קֶחַ מִמֶּנִּי וְאֶקְבְּרָה אֶת מֵתִי שָׁמָּה

I will pay the price of the field; take it from me so that I may bury my dead there (Gen. 23:13)

(7)

אֵלֶיָּךְ וְאֶרְאֶנּוּ בְּטֶרֶם אָמוּת

I shall go and see him before I die (Gen. 45:28)

(8)

הִנְנִי מְבִיא אֶת הַמָּבּוּל

I am about to bring the flood (Gen. 6:17)

(9)

וַיֹּאמֶר אֲבִישַׁי אֲנִי אֶרֶד עִמָּךְ

Avishai said, 'I will go down with you' (1 Sam. 26:6)

In Rabbinic Hebrew the *qotel* is frequently used to convey future actions containing an element of intention when such actions are due to take place immediately after the moment of speaking (Azar 1995, 15). This tendency fits in with the main role of the rabbinic *qotel* as an indicator of present and future tense. (10) illustrates this usage. In addition, rabbinic texts often employ the *yiqtol* in similar contexts with first person subjects (Azar 1995, 8). Intention has a modal nuance and thus this practice is in keeping with the fact that the *yiqtol* serves chiefly to convey modalities in this type of Hebrew. Such a case is shown in (11). Azar (1995, 19) suggests that the periphrastic construction עתיד ל- followed by an infinitive is used instead of the *qotel* or *yiqtol* when a given intended action is expected to occur at a later date in the future. His proposal is logical given that this compound form is the most common rabbinic way of expressing the distant future in general. (12) contains such an instance. Rabbinic Hebrew thus overlaps with that of the present corpus to some degree, as both can utilise the *yiqtol* in contexts indicating that the action in question is intended by the subject. However, the two strata of Hebrew differ in that the language of the Mishnah and Talmud may make a formal distinction between imminent intended actions and those due to take place in the more distant future, whereas the maskilic corpus does not. Thus in this respect the maskilic authors may have been influenced by

rabbinic literature to some degree but did not duplicate its system in its entirety.

(10)

נשבע אני בשמך הגדול שאיני זז מכאן עד שתרחם על בניך

I swear by Your great name that I shall not move from here until You have mercy on Your children (Mishnah *Ta'anit* 3:8)

(11)

היא אומרת אחזיר דינר ליורשין

[Even if] she says, 'I shall repay the dinar to the heirs' (Mishnah *Ketubbot* 11:4)

(12)

מה שאני עתיד להפריש מחר הרי הוא מעשר

That which I am going to set apart tomorrow, let it be a tithe (Mishnah *Demai* 7:1)

Israeli Hebrew often uses the *qotel* to indicate that the subject intends to perform an action (Glinert 1989, 122), whether immediately following the present moment or at a later time. In colloquial language it also frequently employs the verb הולך followed by the infinitive in the same circumstances. These uses are shown in (13) and (14) respectively. In addition, the *yiqtol* can sometimes be used with this meaning (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 39), though not as frequently as the previous two constructions. (15) illustrates such a case. Israeli Hebrew thus resembles its maskilic antecedent to some extent in that both may use the *yiqtol* with reference to an intended future event, but the modern language employs this conjugation only occasionally whereas the present corpus does so regularly.

(13)

שונתים מחר

They're striking tomorrow (Glinert 1989, 122)

(14)

אתה הולך להגיד לו בסוף?

Are you going to tell him in the end? (Glinert 1989, 124)

(15)

דן יעבוד על התוכנה במשך השנה

Dan is going to work on the programme during the year (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 39)

8.3.3 *Predicted future*

The *yiqtol* appears on many occasions in the corpus with reference to a given future action that the speaker or narrator predicts will come to pass. Predicted actions are usually found in direct speech; this is due to the fact that narrative typically deals with past events whereas dialogue is often centred on possible future occurrences. In such instances the speaker is frequently different from the subject of the *yiqtol*; this tendency can be explained by the fact that it is more common to speculate about others than about oneself, where there is generally an element of planning or intent. The fact that the *yiqtol* is the only verbal form attested in such contexts indicates a systematic link between the conjugation and this usage. Alternatively, it is possible that the *yiqtol* was chosen when conveying predictions because the form serves primarily to express imperfective and unfinished actions, a category to which predictions belong by nature. These *yiqtol*s have an English translation value of either 'going to' + infinitive, which is used to predict future events rooted in present evidence, or 'will' + infinitive, which is used to predict future events lacking such an element (Swan 1995, 211, 213).

(1)

"[...] עוד מעט תראי, אמי [...]"

'[...] soon you will see, mother [...]' (Mapu 1857-69, 216)

(2)

"[...] הרופא אומר כי חיש קל תעבור המחלה [...]"

'[...] the doctor says that the illness will pass very easily [...]' (Neiman 1878, 321)

Biblical Hebrew frequently employs the *yiqtol* when referring to events expected to take place in the future (Van der Merwe, Naudé, and Kroeze 1999, 147), as in (3). The *qatal* is sometimes used in similar circumstances, generally in prophetic texts when the desired effect is to present a future action as so certain that it is as if it had already taken place (Williams 1976, 30; Waltke and O'Connor 1990, 490). This phenomenon can be seen in (4). While the latter usage does not typically appear in the present corpus, the former mirrors its maskilic counterpart and is likely to have inspired it.

(3)

וּמַעַץ הַדַּעַת טוֹב וְרָע לֹא תֹאכַל מִמֶּנּוּ כִּי בַיּוֹם אֲכַלְךָ מִמֶּנּוּ מוֹת תָּמוּת

But do not eat of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, for on the day that you eat of it you will surely die (Gen. 2:17)

(4)

אֶרְאֶנּוּ וְלֹא עַתָּה אֲשׁוּרֶנּוּ וְלֹא קָרוֹב דָּרָךְ כּוֹכַב מִיַּעֲקֹב

I see him, though not now; I behold him, but not near. A star will rise from Jacob (Num. 24:17)

Rabbinic Hebrew often uses the periphrastic construction עתיד ל- followed by an infinitive to designate future actions, particularly in conjunction with a time adverbial or when referring to the distant future (Sharvit 1980, 113). Such contexts often involve predictions, as in (5). Alternatively, a *qotel* may be employed to convey a prediction about the future. This practice is in keeping with the fact that the *qotel* functions as a present and future tense in Rabbinic Hebrew (Pérez Fernández 1999, 108). (6) exhibits such a case. Rabbinic usage thus differs from that found in the present

corpus, as the Mishnah and similar works do not usually employ the *yiqtol* with reference to predictions whereas the maskilic authors do so consistently.

(5)

אמר ר' יהושע בן לוי עתיד הקדוש ב"ה להנחיל לכל צדיק וצדיק שלש מאות ועשרה עולמות

Rabbi Joshua ben Levi said, 'The Holy One, blessed be He, will cause every righteous person to inherit three hundred and ten worlds' (Mishnah 'Uqsin 3:12)

(6)

הסתכל בשלשה דברים ואין אתה בא לידי עבירה

Consider three things and you will not fall into transgression (Mishnah Avot 2:1)

Israeli Hebrew generally employs the *yiqtol* to indicate a future prediction (Glinert 1989, 123; Muchnik 1989, 44). This is a logical extension of the conjugation's primary role as a future tense in the modern form of the language. Israeli Hebrew thus mirrors its maskilic antecedent with respect to verbs in this type of context as both types regularly utilise the *yiqtol* conjugation; however, it is difficult to ascertain whether the similarity is the result of maskilic influence on present-day usage or a coincidence.

(7)

תפסיק כנראה בשש

Apparently you will stop at six (Glinert 1989, 123)

8.4 Modality

8.4.1 Capability

*Yiqtol*s are attested throughout the corpus in contexts indicating that their subject is either capable or incapable of performing the actions to which they refer. Such *yiqtol*s can have past, present or future tense value, as illustrated in (1)-(3) respectively. They are best translated into English with the modal

auxiliaries 'can' and 'could', which convey ability in the present and past respectively (Swan 1995, 104-5). *Yiqtol*s with this modal element of capability can appear in both narrative, as in (1) and (2), and direct speech, as in (3). The frequent use of the *yiqtol* in this type of setting is in keeping with the maskilic tendency to employ this conjugation when conveying modalities.

(1)

העלם הזה אשר אם יחפץ, תמצא ידו נערות למאות

This boy who, if he desired, would be able to find hundreds of girls
(Frischmann 1878, 161)

(2)

ואנכי כלוא בחדר בודד בעיר נכחדת, כלוא ולא אצא

And I am trapped in a lonely room in a desolate town, trapped and unable to get out (Gordon 1874b, 4)

(3)

"[...] במחיר מצער כזה לא תקנה לב בת נדיבי פולין [...]"

'[...] for such a measly price you cannot buy the heart of a daughter of Poland's elite [...]' (Smolenskin 1867, 14)

Biblical Hebrew employs the *yiqtol* in contexts wherein the verb indicates the subject's ability to perform a given action (Williams 1976, 31; Waltke and O'Connor 1990, 507). As in the present corpus, such *yiqtol*s can appear with a variety of tense values. Thus the biblical usage appears to overlap with that found in maskilic language and is likely to have inspired it.

(4)

וְחֶרֶשׁ לֹא יִמָּצֵא בְּכָל אֶרֶץ יִשְׂרָאֵל

No blacksmith could be found in all the land of Israel (1 Sam. 13:19)

(5)

וְאַתָּה קַח לָךְ מִכָּל מֵאָכָל אֲשֶׁר יֵאָכֵל

And you, take every kind of food that can be eaten (Gen. 6:21)

In Rabbinic Hebrew the *yiqtol* is frequently used to express various types of modalities (Pérez Fernández 1999, 124), including capability as illustrated in (6). However, the rabbinic *yiqtol* may have only present or future tense value and therefore cannot indicate the ability of a subject to perform a past action. Thus rabbinic usage partially corresponds to that of the Bible and maskilic writing, as all three types of Hebrew employ the *yiqtol* in contexts indicating an element of capability. However, rabbinic literature differs from its biblical and maskilic counterparts in that it cannot employ this conjugation with past tense reference.

(6)

אבל מה אעשה

But what can I do? (Mishnah *Sanhedrin* 3:7)

In Israeli Hebrew the *yiqtol* functions primarily as a future tense and is not usually employed to express the idea of capability even in future contexts; rather, the modals יכול or מסוגל, which specifically denote capability, are employed in the relevant tense followed by an infinitive. Israeli Hebrew thus lacks influence from the maskilic corpus in this respect.

(7)

דן יכול לנהוג אבל אין לו רשיון נהיגה

Dan is capable of driving, but he does not have a driver's license (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 302)

(8)

אתה מאוד עייף, אתה בטוח שאתה מסוגל לנהוג?

You are very tired; are you sure that you are able to drive? (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 302)

8.4.2 Desirability

*Yiqtol*s are sometimes found in direct speech in contexts suggesting that it is desirable or advocated that the subject perform the action of the verb. Like verbs denoting other modalities, *yiqtol*s in these settings refer to an action that is unrealised at the time of utterance or narration. *Yiqtol*s with this element of uncertainty are generally found in questions, with the speaker or narrator deliberating whether the action in question should take place. (1) and (2) illustrate this tendency. However, they are sometimes found in statements, as in (3) and (4). They typically appear in direct speech, as in (1), (3), and (4), but are occasionally attested in narrative, as in (2). *Yiqtol*s in this type of context are translatable by the English construction 'should' + infinitive, which denotes obligation (Swan 1995, 516). The selection of the *yiqtol* in these settings is in keeping with the general trend in the corpus to use this conjugation in modal contexts as well as in the expression of other uncertain or unfinished actions.

(1)

"[...] אך למה אדבר בגבר, אשר מרום דרכו [...]?"

'[...] but why should I speak of the man whose ways are elevated [...]' (Mapu 1857-69, 224)

(2)

כי מדוע יכאיב את לבבה על לא-דבר ולבלי הועיל?

For why should he cause her pain for nothing and without benefit? (Braudes 1873, 27)

(3)

"[...] לכה איעצך את אשר תעשה [...]"

'[...] come now, I shall advise you what you should do [...]' (Smolenskin 1867, 29)

(4)

"[...] ולא ידעו אל נכון מתי ידליקו נרות [...]"

'[...] and they did not know accurately when they should light candles [...]'

(Abramowitz 1862, 57)

Biblical Hebrew generally utilises the *yiqtol* to convey that the subject of a given verb should perform its action (Davidson 1994, 78-9), or to express deliberation as to whether the action should be carried out (Waltke and O'Connor 1990, 508). This practice fits in with the principle that the biblical *yiqtol* is the conjugation usually employed in modal settings. The biblical and maskilic modes of expressing deliberation thus correspond, and the authors of the present corpus most likely based their usage on the biblical model.

(5)

וַיֹּאמְרוּ הַקְּזוֹנָה יַעֲשֶׂה אֶת אֲחֹתֵנוּ

They said, 'Should he treat our sister like a whore?' (Gen. 34:31)

Rabbinic Hebrew employs the *yiqtol* in positive and negative statements to indicate that an action should or should not be performed (Segal 1927, 155), as in (6). It also uses this conjugation in questions to convey deliberation as to whether a given event should take place, as in (7). This practice is rooted in the fact that the *yiqtol* is frequently used in rabbinic language to express various types of modalities. The rabbinic usage in this respect mirrors that of the Bible as well as the maskilic corpus.

(6)

בית שמאי אומרים בערב כל אדם יסו ויקראו ובבוקר יעמדו

The School of Shammai says that in the evening all should recline and recite, whereas in the morning they should stand (Mishnah *Berakhot* 1:3)

(7)

אמר רבן שמעון בן גמליאל מה יעשה זה שלא מצא בתוך שלשים

Rabban Simeon ben Gamliel said, 'What should he do, the one who did not find it within thirty days?' (Mishnah *Sanhedrin* 3:8)

In statements Israeli Hebrew generally employs the auxiliary *צריך* or *כדאי* followed by an infinitive to convey the idea that a given action should or should not be performed. As the verbal system in present-day Hebrew is largely tense-based, these constructions formally distinguish past, present, and future deliberative actions. In this respect modern usage does not resemble that of the corpus. This is illustrated in (8). There is a limited degree of overlap between maskilic and Israeli usage in direct speech questions, as the latter occasionally employs the *yiqtol* on its own in such contexts to express deliberation regarding a potential future event. However, this phenomenon is not widespread in contemporary Hebrew, being largely limited to set expressions such as that shown in (9); the more typical way of conveying deliberation is with the auxiliaries mentioned above.

(8)

הוא היה צריך לשקר

He should have lied (Glinert 1989, 136)

(9)

שאלתי את שאר הנוסעים מה אני אעשה והם אמרו שאין לי מה לעשות

I asked the rest of the passengers what I should do and they said that there was nothing I could do (B'Tselem 2005)

8.4.3 Possibility

*Yiqtol*s are often found in the corpus in contexts indicating that there is a degree of uncertainty as to whether their actions will come to pass. *Yiqtol*s with this sense by nature designate unrealised actions, but their tense value varies according to the context and they can occur in past, present or future surroundings. *Yiqtol*s in this type of setting are generally translatable with the English auxiliaries 'may'/'might' or 'can'/'could' followed by an infinitive,

which can convey possibility (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 180, 200). *Yiqtol*s in such positions are sometimes attested in subordinate clauses in narrative, as in (1). However, they typically appear in direct speech, generally in rhetorical questions where they seem to express surprise or incredulity at the thought of the possible action taking place. (2) illustrates such a case. The fact that the *yiqtol* is the only form employed in such a capacity in the corpus is logical given that this conjugation is the one generally used to convey other modalities in Maskilic Hebrew.

(1)

בבאו התיצב לפני האיש, אשר עמד על משמרתו והיה נכון להשיב על כל אשר ישאלהו

Upon his arrival he situated himself before the man, who was standing at his post, and was ready to answer any question that he might ask him (Abramowitz 1862, 47)

(2)

"הצדיק הזה יתבונן על אשה?"

'Might this holy man look at a woman?' (Gordon 1874b, 12)

Biblical Hebrew customarily indicates that a given action may or may not come to pass using the *yiqtol* (Davidson 1994, 79). Such *yiqtol*s are found in statements as well as questions. This is as to be expected because the biblical *yiqtol* is generally used to convey unfinished and uncertain actions in any tense, including modalities such as possibility. The biblical and maskilic ways of communicating the notion of possibility thus correspond. The fact that the authors of the present corpus generally attempted to base their language on that of the Hebrew Bible suggests that the resemblance is intentional; however, the maskilic tendency to restrict this usage to rhetorical questions may be a sign of rabbinic influence, as discussed below.

(3)

וַיֵּלֶךְ הָאִישׁ מִהָעִיר מִבֵּית לֶחֶם יְהוֹנָדָה לְגוֹר בְּאֶשֶׁר יִמְצָא

The man left Bethlehem in Judea to live in whichever place he might find
(Judg. 17:8)

(4)

וְאִישׁ אֲמוּנִים מִי יִמָּצֵא

But who might find a faithful man? (Prov. 20:6)

In Rabbinic Hebrew the *yiqtol* can convey various modalities (Pérez Fernández 1999, 124). However, despite the fact that possible actions are a type of modality, *yiqtol* verbs seem to be used to indicate possibility only in rhetorical questions (Mishor 1983, 107-8; Azar 1995, 11). In this way the rabbinic usage appears to overlap with that of the maskilic texts to a reasonable degree, and it could be that the authors of the present corpus tended to limit their use of this type of *yiqtol* to rhetorical questions because of influence from rabbinic writing. However, maskilic literature differs from its rabbinic predecessor in that it sometimes employs the *yiqtol* to denote possible events in statements.

(5)

אמר ר' יהושע מי יגלה עפר מעיניך

Rabbi Joshua said, 'Who might remove the dust from your eyes?' (Mishnah *Sotah* 5:2)

Although the most common way of conveying possibility in Israeli Hebrew is with the modal auxiliaries *יכול*, *עשוי*, and *עלול* preceding an infinitive (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 301-2), in rhetorical questions and statements the *yiqtol* is often employed to indicate puzzlement. This current Hebrew practice resembles that of maskilic literature, although the modern language makes use of it much less frequently than the present corpus.

(6)

קשה להבין מדוע משהו יעשה דבר כזה אכזרי

It's hard to understand why someone might do such a cruel thing (NRG 2006)

8.4.4 *Uncertainty*

*Yiqtol*s frequently appear in subordinate clauses following a main verb of desire or command in a context indicating that the subject of the main verb requires or desires that of the subordinate *yiqtol* to take place, but is unsure whether it will actually do so. Such *yiqtol*s are typically introduced by the subordinator *כי* but are occasionally introduced by *-ש*, as in (3). They express relative tense as their point of reference is the preceding verb; thus, if this verb refers to the present or future, as in (3), the *yiqtol* will denote a point posterior to that moment. By contrast, if the initial verb has past reference, as in (1) and (2), the *yiqtol* will refer to a time subsequent to that point but still prior to the present; in such cases the *yiqtol* resembles a 'future in the past' (see 8.3.1). The verbs in the present category can be distinguished from others with the same tense value as their contexts indicate that they express uncertainty as to their actions' possible fulfilment: this uncertainty is present even when the *yiqtol*s convey past tense because they are presented as unrealised at the time of the sentence's main action. Verbs in such settings resemble those expressed by subjunctives in Romance languages. They can often be equated with the English constructions 'want + object + to + infinitive' or 'that + subject + subjunctive' (Swan 1995, 541-2, 614). The maskilic authors' selection of the *yiqtol* to convey this type of action is in keeping with their tendency to employ this conjugation in modal settings.

(1)

האיש הזה בקש מזמרי כי יתן את חוה בתו לבנו לאשה

This man asked Zimri to give his daughter Chava to his son in marriage
(Smolenskin 1872, 252)

(2)

"[...] הלא אמרתי לך כי תובילי את האשה הנה?"

'[...] didn't I tell you to bring the woman here?' (Schulman 1857-60, 2:53)

(3)

"[...] אני משה בן יהודה משביע אתכם שלא תזיקו לשום אדם [...]"

'[...] I, Moses son of Judah, adjure you not to harm any human [...]' (Braudes 1876a, 182)

Biblical Hebrew employs the *yiqtol* immediately preceded by *כי* in situations comparable to those expressed by the subjunctive form in Latin and Greek, where the action in question is seen as uncertain and contingent upon that of a previous verb (Waltke and O'Connor 1990, 508, 510-1). However, such constructions typically refer to purpose or resultativity, as in (4). Conversely, the Hebrew Bible does not appear to contain constructions such as those found in the maskilic corpus, in which a verb of desire is followed by *כי* and a *yiqtol*. This divergence suggests that the maskilic authors were influenced by post-biblical language in this respect.

(4)

מה ימריצן כי תענה

What afflicts you, that you answer? (Job 16:3)

Rabbinic Hebrew regularly utilises the *yiqtol* prefixed by the subordinating particle *-ש* in settings comparable to those expressed by the subjunctive in certain other languages (Mishor 1983, 125-6). Such actions can have past, present or future tense value depending on the setting in which they appear. The choice of conjugation in such contexts is thus identical in both rabbinic and maskilic literature. This suggests that the maskilic authors adopted the rabbinic construction, but usually replaced the post-biblical *-ש* with the biblical *כי* in order to lend a more biblical feel to their writing.

(5)

אף בספרים לא התירו שיכתבו אלא יונית

The books too they did not permit to be written in anything other than Greek (Mishnah *Megillah* 1:8)

Israeli Hebrew generally employs a *yiqtol* preceded by the subordinating particle *-ש* after verbs of desire, request, hope, or command (Bliboim 1995, 145). This usage corresponds to that of the maskilic authors except that the subordinating particles are often different.

(6)

הם הציעו לנו שנצטרף למפלגה

They suggested that we join the party (Bliboim 1995, 146)

8.5 *Conditional/irrealis*

8.5.1 *Apodosis of irreal conditions*

Although the actions in the apodoses of the irreal conditions in the corpus are typically conveyed with the *qatal* conjugation, on several occasions the *yiqtol* is used in comparable settings. Such *yiqtols* are usually found in direct speech, as in (1) and (2), but can occur in narrative, as in (3). These *yiqtols* all refer to a hypothetical time parallel to or following the moment of the statement in which they are found and therefore their actions are improbable rather than impossible. The maskilic use of *yiqtols* in the apodoses of irreal conditions can be contrasted with that of *qatals*, which sometimes refer to counterfactual past actions. These *yiqtols* are functionally equivalent to the English constructions 'would' + infinitive and 'would have' + past participle, which are used in the apodosis of irreal conditions with present and past tense value respectively (Swan 1995, 247-8).

(1)

"[...] וליהודי אין כל צדקה, כל מוצאו יהרגו מבלי תת לו חנינה [...]"

'[...] and the Jew has no righteousness; anyone who found him would kill him without showing him mercy [...]' (Smolenskin 1867, 34)

(2)

"[...] לו חכמתם בני עמי, תשכילו זאת ותבינו [...]"

'[...] if you were wise, my people, you would comprehend this and understand [...]' (Abramowitz 1862, 41)

(3)

העלם הזה אשר אם יחפץ, תמצא ידו נערות למאות

This boy who, if he desired, would be able to find hundreds of girls
(Frischmann 1878, 161)

The apodoses of Biblical Hebrew irreal conditions usually contain *yiqtol*s when the actions to which they refer have present or future tense value (Davidson 1994, 155). Thus in this respect the maskilic usage corresponds to and is therefore most likely based on that found in the Hebrew Bible. However, the two types of Hebrew differ in that irreal conditions appear only infrequently in the biblical corpus (Lambdin 1971, 278), whereas they are commonplace in maskilic literature. This dissimilarity may be explained by the fact that irreal conditions are regularly used in Yiddish and the other European languages with which the authors were familiar.

(4)

לו חִכְמוּ יִשְׁכִּילוּ זֹאת

If they were wise they would understand this (Deut. 32:29)

Rabbinic Hebrew can utilise the *yiqtol* in the apodosis of irreal conditions in order to indicate that the action in question refers to a hypothetical version of the future rather than the past (Segal 1927, 230). In this respect rabbinic usage overlaps completely with that of the maskilic and Biblical Hebrew corpora.

(5)

אילו אני פסקתי לעצמי אשב עד שילבין ראשי

If I had taken it upon myself, I would sit [unmarried] until my hair turned grey (Mishnah *Ketubbot* 13:5)

Israeli Hebrew almost invariably employs a periphrastic form consisting of the *qatal* of the root ה.י.ה. followed by a *qotel* in the apodosis of irreal conditions (Bar 2003, 45, 48, 51). This construction is illustrated in (6). In this regard the modern language does not overlap with the maskilic corpus as it never employs the *yiqtol* in this type of context.

(6)

אם הארכיטקט היה מתכנן כראוי, הפועלים היו גומרים את העבודה בזמן

Had the architect planned properly, the workers would have finished the job long ago (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 360)

8.5.2 *Apodosis of real conditions*

The corpus typically employs the *yiqtol* in the apodosis of real (possible) conditions with reference to a future action that is expected to take place if that of the adjacent protasis first comes to pass. Such *yiqtols* are usually found in direct speech. They are translatable with the English construction 'will' + infinitive, which is often used in the apodosis of real conditions with future tense value (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 191).

(1)

"[...] ואם תרשני אצוה ויביאום הנה"

'[...] and if you permit me I will instruct them to bring them here' (Gordon 1874b, 15)

(2)

"אם תחפוץ אשיב לך כסף"

'If you like, I'll give you your money back' (Shulman 1873, 85)

A Biblical Hebrew apodosis referring to an action expected to take place on the condition that the event indicated in the nearby protasis is realised usually contains either a *yiqtol* or a *weqatal* (Driver 1892, 174-5). These

options are illustrated in (3) and (4) respectively. In this regard biblical usage resembles that of the maskilic corpus.

(3)

אם יהיו חטאיכם כשנים כשלג ילבינו

Even if your sins are as scarlet, they will become as white as snow (Isa. 1:18)

(4)

וענב את אביו ומת

If he leaves his father he will die (Gen. 44:22)

The verb in the apodosis of real conditions with future reference in Rabbinic Hebrew can be a *qotel*, an imperative, or a *yiqtol* with a command sense (Segal 1927, 229). These possibilities are illustrated in (5), (6), and (7) in turn. In this regard Rabbinic and Maskilic Hebrew correspond in that both may employ the *yiqtol* in the same real conditional settings. However, the verbs in rabbinic real conditional apodoses frequently contain a deontic element of permission or obligation, whereas their maskilic counterparts generally lack such a component.

(5)

חתן אם רצה לקרות קריאת שמע לילה הראשון קורא

If a bridegroom wants to recite the *Shema* on the first night, he may recite it (Mishnah *Berakhot* 2:8)

(6)

אם אחרתי צאו ושחטו עלי

If I am late, go out and sacrifice for me (Mishnah *Pesahim* 9:9)

(7)

אם יש להם עליו מזונות הרי אלו לא יאכלו

If he is obliged to maintain them, they shall not eat (Mishnah *Ma'aserot* 3:1)

Israeli Hebrew typically employs the *yiqtol* in the apodosis of real conditions with future tense value (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 358). This is in keeping with the fact that this conjugation serves chiefly to denote the future tense in the modern language. This practice resembles that of maskilic literature although the authors of the corpus occasionally use a *weqatal* in such contexts whereas Israeli Hebrew does not possess this form.

(8)

אם יהיה לי מספיק כסף, אקנה מכונית חדשה

If I have enough money, I'll buy a new car (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 357)

8.5.3 *Irrealis*

*Yiqtol*s can be used to convey hypothetical actions. Such forms are always introduced by כאלו or כמו. The temporal value of these *yiqtol*s always corresponds to that of the sentence's main verb. They are usually found in past or present settings, as in (1) and (2) respectively. *Yiqtol*s in these contexts always refer to states or progressive actions. *Qotels* are sometimes used in identical contexts, and it is difficult to determine a reason for the selection of one form instead of the other (see 9.4.1 for details). *Qatals* are also employed in irrealis settings (see 7.3.3), and the three verbal forms seem to be interchangeable when referring to past progressive hypothetical actions and states. However, there are three differences between irreal *qatals* and *yiqtol*s: firstly, *qatals* appear only in past contexts, while *yiqtol*s can have non-past value; secondly, *qatals* can refer to both punctive and progressive actions, whereas *yiqtol*s appear only in progressive contexts; thirdly, the tense value of *yiqtol*s always corresponds to that of the sentence's main verb, while *qatals* may refer to an earlier point. The English translation value of these forms varies: *yiqtol*s conveying hypothetical past actions can be equated with the English construction consisting of 'as if' followed by a preterite or other past tense verb or the irrealis form 'were', while those with irreal present-tense value have an English translation value of 'as if' and the simple present,

present progressive, or irrealis 'were' depending on the value of the verb in question. See Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 1151-4 for details of these usages.

(1)

הנשים לובשות בגדי אבל לבכי כמו תספודנה על מת

The women were wearing mourners' garb, as if they were mourning a death
(Smolenskin 1867, 7)

(2)

הוא יחיש ימהר מסעו, כמו יבקש לו מקום להריק כיסיו

He speeds up his journey, as if he is looking for a place to empty his pockets
(Braudes 1877, 195)

Biblical Hebrew contrary-to-fact actions are consistently conveyed by *qatal*s whether they have past or future tense value (Davidson 1994, 69). Such actions are never conveyed by *yiqtol*s. Thus the biblical and maskilic usages do not seem to correspond in this respect. However, as in other cases, it is possible that in this regard the maskilic authors took the biblical notion of the *yiqtol* signalling imperfectivity and adapted it for use in an original context.

(3)

הרינו חלנו כמו ילדנו רוח

We were with child; we writhed as though we had borne the wind (Isa. 26:18)

Rabbinic Hebrew customarily employs the *qatal* preceded by the conjunction *כאילו* to express hypothetical past actions, as illustrated in (4). It never uses the *yiqtol* in such circumstances, as this conjugation typically functions either modally or as a future tense. When referring to present-tense irreal actions rabbinic literature generally utilises the *qotel*, which serves as a present tense in this type of Hebrew. This is shown in (5). Thus rabbinic usage differs from that found in the maskilic corpus whether the latter refers to a past or non-past irreal action.

(4)

העושה סוכתו תחת האילן כאלו עשה בתוך הבית

If someone makes his sukkah under a tree, it is as if he made it inside the house (Mishnah *Sukkah* 1:2)

(5)

מגיד הכתוב שכל מי ששונא את ישראל כאלו שונא את מי שאמר והיה העולם

The passage teaches that anyone who hates Israel, it is as if he hates the One who spoke and the world came into being (Basser 1998, xli)

Israeli Hebrew can employ either the *qatal* or *qotel* preceded by *כאילו* to present hypothetical past events. The choice of form depends on whether the unreal action occurred prior to or at the same time as the main verb of the sentence; in the first instance the *qatal* is used and in the second the *qotel*. These two variants are illustrated in (6) and (7) respectively. If the hypothetical event is presented as if taking place at the present moment, the *qotel* is used without exception. This is because the *qotel* serves as a present tense in Israeli Hebrew and counter-to-fact present actions are included in this category. Such a case is shown in (8). Thus the modern form of the language possesses no construction analogous to the maskilic use of the *yiqtol* in conveying irrealis.

(6)

ד"ר קרן ממשיך לעבוד כאילו כלום לא קרה

Dr. Keren continues working as if nothing had happened (Frankel 2007)

(7)

הרגשתי כאילו אני נופלת

I felt as if I were falling (Glinert 1989, 344)

(8)

אתה מתנהג כאילו אתה לא יודע עכשיו

You're behaving as if you don't know now (Glinert 1989, 135)

8.5.4 *Protasis of real conditions*

*Yiqtol*s are consistently employed in the corpus in the protasis of real (possible) conditions. In such contexts they can refer a future action that must take place in order for the action of the apodosis to be realised, as in (1), or to a present action or state that is regarded as a possibility rather than a certainty, as in (2). Their English translation value is the present tense, which is typically employed in the protasis of real conditions with future reference (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 744). These *yiqtol*s are usually found in direct speech, as in (2), but can appear in narrative, as in (1).

(1)

כי תבא קורא יקר אל עיר כסלון, אז לא יכבד עליך למצא בית יונתן

If you come, dear reader, to the town of Kesalon, it will not be difficult for you to find Jonathan's house (Abramowitz 1862, 16)

(2)

"[...] אם תבקש את אלהים ודעת דרכיו תחפוץ בואה נא עמי [...]"

'[...] if you are searching for God and wish to know His ways, please come with me [...]' (Fuenn 1872, 295)

The action in the protasis of real conditions with future reference in Biblical Hebrew is most frequently conveyed with a *yiqtol* (Davidson 1994, 152), as in (3). It can additionally be denoted by a *qotel* (Driver 1892, 177), as in (4), or by a *weqatal* (Van der Merwe, Naudé, and Kroeze 1999, 171), as in (5). On occasion the *qatal* is used in order to present the action of the protasis perfectly (Davidson 1994, 153). (6) illustrates this practice. Biblical and Maskilic Hebrew overlap to a reasonable extent in this regard as they both tend to employ the *yiqtol* in the protases of unfulfilled real conditions. However, they differ in that Biblical Hebrew can use the *weqatal* in this capacity, whereas the maskilic authors do not.

(3)

אם יַעֲבְרוּ בְּנֵי גַד וּבְנֵי רֵעֻבֵן אֶתְכֶם אֶת הַיַּרְדֵּן כָּל חַלוֹץ לְמַלְחָמָה לִפְנֵי יְהוָה וְנִכְבְּשָׁה הָאָרֶץ לִפְנֵיכֶם וְנָתַתֶּם לָהֶם אֶת אֶרֶץ הַגִּלְעָד

If every fighter among the Gadites and Reubenites crosses over the Jordan with you before the Lord and the land is conquered before you, you shall give them the land of Gilead (Num. 32:29)

(4)

אם מְשִׁיבִים אֲתָם אוֹתִי לְהִלָּחֵם בְּבְנֵי עַמּוֹן וְנָתַן יְהוָה אוֹתָם לִפְנֵי אֲנִכִּי אֶהְיֶה לָכֶם לְרֹאשׁ

If you bring me back to fight the Ammonites and the Lord delivers them to me, I shall be your leader (Judg. 11:9)

(5)

וְעָזַב אֶת אָבִיו וְנָמַת

If he leaves his father he will die (Gen. 44:22)

(6)

אם גִּלְחָתִי וְסָר מִמֶּנִּי כֹחִי

If I am shaven, my strength will leave me (Judg. 16:17)

Rabbinic Hebrew typically employs the *qotel* to convey the action in the protasis of real conditions with future reference; in addition, it utilises the *yiqtol* on occasion and the *qatal* in order to present a future action as if it were already fulfilled (Segal 1927, 229). These three variants are illustrated in turn in (7), (8), and (9). The maskilic corpus thus overlaps with its rabbinic antecedent to some degree, but diverges from it in that it uses the *yiqtol* in the protases of unfulfilled real conditions much more frequently than any other conjugation. In this respect maskilic practice bears a greater resemblance to biblical than to rabbinic literature.

(7)

אם אינו יכול לירד יחזיר את פניו

If he cannot go down, he should turn his face (Mishnah *Berakhot* 4:5)

(8)

אם תקניטני - גוזרני טומאה

If you provoke me, I shall decree impurity (Babylonian Talmud *Shabbat* 17a)

(9)

אם אחרתי צאו ושחטו עלי

If I am late, go out and sacrifice for me (Mishnah *Pesahim* 9:9)

Israeli Hebrew employs the *yiqtol* to convey the future action of real conditional protases (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 358), as in (10). In this regard the modern language overlaps with Maskilic Hebrew.

(10)

אם יהיה לי מספיק כסף, אקנה מכונית חדשה

If I have enough money, I'll buy a new car (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 357)

8.6 Commands

8.6.1 Second person command

Second person *yiqtols* sometimes serve as second person positive commands in the corpus. Such instances are less frequent than those in which imperative forms are employed in this role but still relatively common. The choice of a *yiqtol* instead of an imperative in such a setting does not appear to be motivated by clear syntactic or semantic factors. *Yiqtols* with command force appear in close proximity to imperatives with a seemingly identical sense, as comparison of the imperative with the *yiqtol* in (1) illustrates. Moreover, *yiqtols* are used to convey the same range of specific and durative commands as imperatives: the form in (1) denotes an immediate, one-off request whereas the one in (2) designates a more ongoing order. The translation value of *yiqtols* in these contexts is the English imperative, which designates second person directives (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 925, 929).

(1)

"[...] הלך תלך אל הקארפאראל וספרה לו את כל אשר קרה [...]"

'[...] go to the corporal and tell him everything that has happened [...]' (Fuenn 1875-6, 219)

(2)

"[...] ומאלה תקחו לכם לילות"

'[...] and take wives for yourselves from these' (Dick 1867, 312)

Biblical Hebrew often uses the *yiqtol* as a positive command. While this conjugation and the imperative both appear in a variety of contexts with apparently similar meaning, there may be a semantic difference between the two. As Shulman (1996, 252) argues, the *yiqtol* is used to issue 'commands with reference to the future, instructions, legislations and rulings', while the imperative is employed when conveying 'personal, emotional, urgent requests'. Hendel (1996, 170-1) interprets this distinction as one of aspect, proposing that the *yiqtol* conveys imperfectivity and the imperative perfectivity. (3) illustrates a *yiqtol* conveying a non-immediate request and (4) exemplifies one in a legislative context. Thus biblical and maskilic texts both employ the *yiqtol* with command force, though the proposed motivations for the biblical usage are unlikely to apply to the maskilic phenomenon as it is doubtful that the authors of the present corpus were aware of such a distinction.

(3)

תחטאני באיוב ואטהר תכבדני ומשגל אלבין

Cleanse me with hyssop and I will become pure, wash me and I will become whither than snow (Ps. 51:9)

(4)

מפני שיבה תקום

You shall rise in the presence of the aged (Lev. 19:32)

In Rabbinic Hebrew the imperative is used only infrequently; positive commands are generally conveyed using the *yiqtol*, the *qotel* or an infinitive (Pérez Fernández 1999, 124, 152). Thus although Rabbinic and Maskilic Hebrew both employ the *yiqtol* with command force, tannaitic and amoraic usage is unlikely to have influenced the latter in any significant way as its employment of the *yiqtol* in this capacity is extremely widespread whereas the present corpus utilises the form less frequently than the imperative.

(5)

תדעו שהן אלוהות

Know that they are gods (Mishnah 'Avodah Zarah 4:7)

Israeli Hebrew employs the *yiqtol* to express second person commands with great regularity, in many cases even more frequently than the imperative itself (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 44). Though the use of a *yiqtol* with command force is often equivalent in nuance to that of the imperative, it can sometimes be used to indicate a more polite tone. This semantic distinction does not seem to characterise the variation between *yiqtol* and imperative forms in the maskilic corpus.

(6)

תיכנסו ותרגישו בבית!

Come in and make yourself at home! (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 44)

8.6.2 *Self-encouragement*

Yiqtols are sometimes used to denote volitional statements issued by speakers to themselves, as in (1), or themselves and their addressees, as in (2) and (3). They are sometimes followed by the precative particle ׁ, as in (1) and (2); this may serve to draw attention to the command force of the *yiqtol*. They are translatable with the English constructions 'let me' and 'let us/let's' + infinitive, which serve as singular and plural cohortatives respectively (Swan 1995, 305–6). These forms are often found in close proximity to cohortative

forms carrying the same volitional force, as in (2). The authors' reason for selecting a *yiqtol* as opposed to a cohortative on any given occasion is unclear. It is unlikely to be semantic as both conjugations are found in seemingly identical settings; similarly, it does not appear to be attributable to the fact that the roots in question are not attested as cohortatives in the Hebrew Bible, as the authors sometimes employ other cohortative forms lacking biblical precedent.

(1)

"[...] אל אבכה לבתי המתה ואל אנוח לה [...]"

'[...] let me not cry for my dead daughter or wander for her [...]' (Abramowitz 1862, 62)

(2)

"נשיה נא עוד רגעים אחדים"

'Let's converse for another few moments' (Braudes 1873, 18)

(3)

"נשב במרכבה ונשוב הביתה, כי ההמון הולך ורב"

'Let's sit in the carriage and go home, for the crowd is growing' (Smolenskin 1872, 307)

Biblical Hebrew typically employs the cohortative to convey self-encouragement, but the *yiqtol* is occasionally found in similar contexts with plural reference. According to Waltke and O'Connor (1990, 509) semantic considerations motivate the selection of one conjugation as opposed to the other on any given instance: the *yiqtol* is employed when the speaker wishes to draw attention to the action concerned; by contrast, the cohortative serves to show that the speaker's will is the most important element of the statement. Maskilic usage overlaps with its biblical antecedent in that both can employ either the *yiqtol* or cohortative in first person plural volitional contexts. However, the maskilic authors appear to employ the *yiqtol* more frequently in

these settings than their biblical model and their motivations do not appear to be semantic. Moreover, the maskilic authors employ the *yiqtol* to convey first person singular self-encouragement, while the Hebrew Bible does not. It is thus likely that the maskilic phenomenon was informed at least in part by post-biblical language.

(4)

לָכֶּה נָא וְנִסְיָרָה אֶל עִיר הַיְבוּסִי הַזֹּאת וְנָלִין בָּהּ

'Let us turn aside to this Jebusite town and spend the night there' (Judg. 19:11)

Rabbinic Hebrew consistently employs the *yiqtol* to denote an action that the speaker wishes to perform (Segal 1927, 155), as in (5), or to show that the speaker desires to encourage his or her audience to join him or her in performing a given action (Azar 1995, 8), as in (6). In this respect the rabbinic and maskilic corpora resemble each other except for the fact that the present corpus may additionally employ the cohortative in this type of context; this similarity appears to be greater than the correspondence between Maskilic and Biblical Hebrew and raises the possibility that rabbinic usage contributed to the maskilic practice to some degree.

(5)

אֵל אֶצְמָא רִיקָם מִן הַבַּיִת הַזֶּה

May I not leave this house empty-handed (Palestinian Talmud *Sotah* 1:4)

(6)

נֵלֶךְ וְנַעֲבֹד עִיּוֹן

Let's go and worship idols (Mishnah *Sanhedrin* 7:10)

Israeli Hebrew almost invariably employs the *yiqtol* to convey first person singular and plural self-encouragement. In colloquial language *yiqtol*s in such contexts must be preceded by *ש-* or *בוא*; in formal settings they must be followed by the precative particle *נא* or preceded by *הבה* in the plural (Glinert

1989, 289). Israeli and Maskilic Hebrew correspond in this respect in that both can use the *yiqtol* to denote first person self-encouragement in the singular and plural. However, they differ in that the former does so consistently whereas the latter uses the cohortative as well; moreover, Israeli Hebrew *yiqtols* in these contexts require accompanying particles whereas their maskilic counterparts do not always appear in conjunction with such forms.

(7)

שאני אתן לך

Let me give you (Glinert 1989, 289)

(8)

אורשה נא לפרט

Might I be allowed to specify (Glinert 1989, 289)

(9)

שנוח כבר מכאן!

Let's go [lit: already] from here! (Bar-Adon 1966, 411)

(10)

בוא נחשוב רגע

Let's think for a moment (Glinert 1989, 289)

(11)

הבה נלך

Let's go (Glinert 1989, 289)

(12)

נזכור נא זאת

Please let us bear this in mind (Glinert 1989, 289)

8.6.3 *Third person command*

The maskilic authors typically convey indirect commands given by the speaker or narrator to a third party with the *yiqtol*. This is true even in the case of *lamed he*, *hif'il*, and hollow roots, which have a distinct jussive form, as illustrated in (3); the only exception to this trend concerns the roots *ה.י.ה* and *ה.י.ה* (see 12.3.1). In some cases the third person form actually functions as a polite second person command; in such cases referring to the addressee obliquely seems to convey respect. (2) illustrates such an instance. *Yiqtols* with third person command force differ syntactically from those with an indicative sense in that they are usually placed before their subjects. The majority of these *yiqtols* can be translated into English with a verb preceded by the construction 'let', which serves to introduce third person commands (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 925). The form shown in (2) actually serves as a polite second person command, and therefore its translation value is the English imperative.

(1)

"תנוח דעתך, אשתי [...]"

'Let your mind be put at rest, my wife [...]' (Mapu 1857-69, 240)

(2)

"ישב נא אדוני!"

'Please sit down, Sir [lit: let Sir please sit down]' (Gordon 1874b, 8)

(3)

"[...] יאריך ה' ימיה [...]"

'[...] may the Lord give her long life [...]' (Shulman 1873, 91)

Biblical Hebrew *lamed he*, *hif'il*, and hollow roots have a distinct jussive form, which is used to convey third person commands or when an inferior speaker wishes to issue a polite, non-urgent request to a superior (Shulman 1996, 159-65, 166-8), as in (4) and (5) respectively. However, other Biblical

Hebrew jussives are formally indistinguishable from *yiqtol*s (Waltke and O'Connor 1990, 566); thus in such cases third person *yiqtol*s may be used as third person commands, as in (6), or polite second person commands, as in (7). Hence the maskilic usage can clearly be traced to that of its biblical antecedent; nevertheless, it differs in two ways. Firstly, the maskilic authors consistently employ the *yiqtol* in these settings even when the verb in question has a distinct jussive form. Secondly, the maskilic authors appear to have placed the volitive *yiqtol*s before their subjects in order to distinguish them from other verbs of the same conjugation, while in the Hebrew Bible the syntactic position of *yiqtol*s with third person command force does not differ from that of *yiqtol*s with an indicative sense.

(4)

יִסֹף יְהוָה לִי בֶן אֲחֵר

May the Lord grant me another son (Gen. 30:24)

(5)

וְעַתָּה יִרְא פַרְעֹה אִישׁ נָבוֹן וְחָכָם

And now, let Pharaoh look for an astute and wise man (Gen. 41:33)

(6)

יִשָּׂא יְהוָה פָּנָיו אֵלֶיךָ

May the Lord turn His face towards you (Num. 6:26)

(7)

יֵצֵר נָא אֲדֹנָי לִפְנֵי עַבְדִּי

'Please go before me [lit: please let my lord go before his servant]' (Gen. 33:14)

Specifically jussive forms are no longer extant in Rabbinic Hebrew, and so this form of the language employs the *yiqtol* to indicate third person commands (Azar 1995, 9; Pérez Fernández 1999, 124). In this respect Maskilic and Rabbinic Hebrew overlap. However, Rabbinic Hebrew does not employ

the *yiqtol* to convey polite second person commands; in this respect the maskilic corpus is more similar to Biblical Hebrew.

(8)

כל השומע את קולי יכתוב גט לאשתי

Let anyone who hears my voice write a bill of divorce for my wife (Mishnah *Gittin* 6:6)

Israeli Hebrew does not possess a designated jussive form; when conveying third person commands it normally employs the *yiqtol*. The command force may be indicated by fronting the verb, as in (9), or by introducing it with the subordinator *-ש* (Bar-Adon 1966, 410; Glinert 1989, 123), as in (10). Israeli and Maskilic Hebrew overlap in their use of the fronted *yiqtol* to present third person commands. However, they differ in that Israeli Hebrew does not employ the third person form with second person reference.

(9)

ילך יוסף

May Joseph go (Schwarzwald 1981, 18)

(10)

שילך כבר!

Let him go [lit: already]! (Bar-Adon 1966, 410)

8.7 Other

8.7.1 Concurrent action

The *yiqtol* is attested in contexts indicating that it refers to an action going on at the same time as that of the preceding main verb, with the latter setting the tense of the entire sentence. Thus a *yiqtol* in such a position may have past, present or future value. The concurrent action is often of a longer duration than the main one, though both may be of similar length. The main verb usually refers to some type of perception, particularly sight, as in (1) and (2).

*Yiqtol*s in these contexts are translatable with the English present participle, which can be used to indicate an action ongoing at the same time as that of a main verb referring to perception (Swan 1995, 407). The appearance of a *yiqtol* in such a setting is much less frequent than that of a *qotel* (see 9.5.1). The selection of a *yiqtol* instead of a *qotel* on any given instance does not appear to be governed by any specific syntactic or semantic factors, and it is difficult to ascertain whether the authors had any underlying motivation for choosing one form over the other.

(1)

ברכיו כרעו, רגליו מעדו, כמו ראה את המות בחרבו הקשה יצעד לעומתו

His knees weakened, his legs stumbled, as if he had seen Death with its scythe stepping towards him (Smolenskin 1867, 31)

(2)

בגשתי לרחוב היהודים פגשתי בהרבה אנשים חשים אצים רצים, איש את אחיו ידחקו, קוראים זה אל זה ומדברים זה עם זה

When I went out onto the street of the Jews I met many people hurrying, rushing, running, pushing each other, calling out and talking to each other (Gordon 1874b, 15)

(3)

"פעמים רבות שמעתי מעשיך הטובות יהללו בשער [...]"

'Many times I heard your good deeds being praised at the gates [...]' (Sheikewitz 1872, 82)

Biblical Hebrew does not seem to use the *yiqtol* to convey an action ongoing at the same time as a main event. Rather, it tends to employ one of the following three constructions. Firstly, it can use two infinitives absolute of different roots following a finite verb of the same root as the first infinitive absolute to indicate that the action of the second infinitive is concurrent with that of the former and main verb (Davidson 1994, 125). Secondly, two *qotels* may be employed following a main verb with the same sense (Williams 1976,

40). In addition to the formal differences, there is a slight divergence in meaning between these two usages and that found in the maskilic corpus: the former draw attention to the repetitive nature of the concurrent action whereas the latter does not. Thirdly, a circumstantial clause consisting of a *waw*-conjunctive and *qotel* following an initial finite verb can convey concurrent action (Gordon 1982, 135). These three usages are shown in (4), (5), and (6) respectively. Thus the maskilic practice does not appear to be rooted in that of its biblical predecessor. However, an action presented as concurrent to that of a main verb is necessarily unfinished, and therefore the maskilic authors' use of the *yiqtol* in such settings is in keeping with the biblical role of this conjugation as a marker of imperfectivity. Since the *yiqtol* is not used in this way in the Hebrew Bible, its appearance in the present corpus may represent evidence of the maskilic authors applying a basic function of the biblical *yiqtol* in new contexts.

(4)

וַיִּרְדֵּהוּ אֶל כַּפָּיו וַיֵּלֶךְ הַלֹּךְ, וְאָכַל

He scooped it into his hands and walked along, eating as he went (Judg. 14:9)

(5)

וַיָּרֶד עֲלֶה בְּמַעְלֵה הַזֵּיתִים עֲלֶה וּבֹכָה

And David went up the Mount of Olives, weeping as he went (2 Sam. 15:30)

(6)

וַיֵּצְאוּ כָּל הָעָם אַחֲרָיו וְהָעָם מְחַלְלִים בְּחַלְלִים

And all the people went behind him playing pipes (1 Kings 1:40)

Rabbinic Hebrew can use the *qotel* to convey an action occurring at the same time as that of a main verb in any tense (Segal 1908, 696), as in (7). However, as Gordon (1982, 159) suggests, this usage appears relatively infrequently in the rabbinic corpus; circumstantial clauses introduced by the subordinator כִּשְׁ- such as that shown in (8) are more commonly used to convey

concurrent action. Rabbinic Hebrew does not use the *yiqtol* in such contexts and as such differs from the maskilic corpus.

(7)

שמרה עומדת על פתח חצרה

He saw her standing at the entrance to her courtyard (Mishnah *Baba Qamma* 8:6)

(8)

הרואה כהן גדול כשהוא קורא אינו רואה פר ושעיר הנשרפים

One who sees the High Priest reading [lit: when he is reading] does not see the bullock and goat being burnt (Mishnah *Yoma* 7:2)

Israeli Hebrew consistently employs the *qotel* to indicate concurrent action (Glinert 1989, 311). As in other forms of the language, such actions take their tense value from the main verb and so can have a past, present or future sense. In this way Israeli Hebrew mirrors its rabbinic antecedent but does not resemble the usage found in the maskilic corpus discussed above.

(9)

שמעתי אותן שרות שירים

I heard them singing songs (Glinert 1989, 311)

9 QOTEL

9.1 *Past*

9.1.1 *Narrative present*

Qotels are sometimes found in narrative portions of the corpus in contexts suggesting that their actions took place at a specific point in the past. While the precise time of the actions varies, they generally form part of the main narrative sequence rather than providing background information. Such *qotel* actions typically appear in close proximity to *qatals* with similar preterite force, as in (1). As the *qatal* is more typically employed in this type of past tense context, the authors' occasional selection of the *qotel* may be significant. There do not seem to be any syntactic considerations motivating its utilisation in these cases: they are found in both main and subordinate clauses and do not require the presence of any particular non-verbal elements. Conversely, it is possible that by selecting the *qotel* in certain cases the authors desired to impart a notion of immediacy and vividness to the past action in question; however, such a reading is difficult to confirm. *Qotels* in these contexts can be translated with the English preterite, as they are used to convey actions that occurred at a specific point prior to the present moment. However, if the authors employed them in order to lend an element of vividness to their narrative, they can be equated with the English narrative present, which is employed in similar settings (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 130).

(1)

רבים היו לחתנים לוקחי נשים בפתע פתאום. שם עולה נער אחד, נעלותיו בלים ומטולאים

Many became bridegrooms suddenly. One lad went up there, his shoes worn and patched (Dick 1867, 322)

In Biblical Hebrew the *qotel* is regularly used in past contexts, where it generally indicates a circumstantial action, an iterative occurrence or a continuous event (Waltke and O'Connor 1990, 625). (2) illustrates this. This is in keeping with the fact that the biblical *qotel* when serving as a predicate

generally functions in much the same way as a *yiqtol* (Joüon 1993, 2:409), in that it conveys durative or unfinished actions in the past, present or future. By contrast, the Hebrew Bible generally employs punctive past actions with the *qatal*, as in (3). Thus, although Biblical Hebrew employs the *qotel* with reference to past events, it differs from the maskilic corpus as it does not use this form when conveying preterite actions.

(2)

ויהונתן ואחיהמאז עומדים בצעין רגל והלכה השפחה והגידה להם

Now Jonathan and Ahimaaz were staying at Enrogel, and a servant-girl would go and tell them (2 Sam. 17:17)

(3)

ותבכחש שרה לא צחקתי

But Sarah lied and said, 'I did not laugh' (Genesis 18:15)

Rabbinic Hebrew generally uses the *qotel* in past contexts in order to lend an element of vividness to a narrative and present it as if it were 'unfolding before our eyes' (Pérez Fernández 1999, 134). Such a case is illustrated in (4). In all other circumstances rabbinic literature employs the *qatal* to designate punctive past events. This convention stems from the fact that the *qatal* in this form of the language functions primarily to express the past tense. An example of this can be seen in (6). Thus the rabbinic and maskilic writings appear to correspond in this regard.

(4)

באותה שעה אדם יוצא לטייל בשוק ומבקש ליקח לו חפץ מן הזקנה והיתה מוכרת לו בשווי וקטנה קוראה לו

Then a man went [lit: goes] out to stroll in the market and wanted [lit: wants] to buy something from an old woman who was selling it for what it was worth, when a young woman called [lit: calls] to him (Basser 1998, lxxxv)

(5)

משה קבל תורה מסיני ומסרה ליהושע

Moses received the Torah from Sinai and transmitted it to Joshua (Mishnah *Avot* 1:1)

Israeli Hebrew can use the *qotel* in past contexts when the speaker or narrator desires to convey a narrative in a particularly dramatic and involved manner (Muchnik 1989, 35; Tobin 1990, 499-500; Tzivoni 1991, 77), as in (6). Aside from such specific cases the *qatal* is the sole verbal form employed with reference to preterite actions. In this regard Israeli Hebrew appears to resemble its rabbinic and maskilic antecedents.

(6)

או היא צוחקת ואומרת "די!"

Then she laughed [lit: laughs] and said [lit: says], 'Stop it!' (Glinert 1989, 123)

(7)

אני מצאתי את האבדה, לא הוא

I found the lost item, not him (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 37)

9.1.2 *Past progressive*

Qotels sometimes appear in narrative portions of the corpus in contexts suggesting that they designate durative actions taking place at a time prior to the present moment. The English translation value of *qotels* in this type of context is the past progressive, the conjugation used to express durative actions that took place prior to the moment of speaking (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 162-4). The past tense value of these *qotels* is always indicated by the context, which often includes *qatals* appearing to convey preterite actions that serve to advance the main storyline. This tendency is exemplified in (1) and (2). It is possible that in these settings the authors chose to alternate between *qatals* and *qotels* in order to make a formal distinction between the punctual events forming the backbone of the narrative chain on one hand and the ongoing actions current at the same time on the other. In many instances

the *qotels* designate situations extending over a longer period than those indicated by the *qatals*; both (1) and (2) illustrate this point. This type of ongoing past action is attested in both main and subordinate clauses, as in (1) and (2) respectively.

(1)

אנשים רבים שטפו עברו כגלי ים, לימיני ולשמאלי, וכולם מתלחשים ומדברים

People flooded and passed by like ocean waves, and they were all whispering and talking (Gordon 1874b, 15)

(2)

ועזרא הביא את לוי אל החדר, אשר הישמעאלי שוכן בו

And Ezra brought Levi to the room in which the Ishmaelite was staying (Mapu 1857-69, 239)

In Biblical Hebrew the *qotel* is used to convey durative past actions (Driver 1892, 166; Joosten 1999, 22). *Qotels* with such an interpretation are frequently attested in the Hebrew Bible. The biblical and maskilic treatment of progressive past events appears to correspond in this respect: both employ the *qotel* in the same contexts with the intention of indicating an ongoing action taking place in a narrative context, often simultaneously with a punctive one. (3) illustrates this similarity, with the *wayyiqtol* conveying a punctive event and the *qotel* a durative one.

(3)

וַיְהִי רִיב בֵּין רָעִי מִקְנֵה אֲבָרָם וּבֵין רָעִי מִקְנֵה לוֹט וְהַכְנָעָנִי וְהַפְרָזִי אֹי יֹשֵׁב בְּאֶרֶץ

And there was a quarrel between Abram's cattle herders and Lot's. The Canaanites and Perizzites were dwelling in the land at that time (Gen. 13:7)

Rabbinic Hebrew typically employs a periphrastic construction consisting of a *qatal* of the root ה.י.ה followed by a *qotel* to express ongoing past actions. This form is often found in narrative contexts in close proximity

to *qatals* conveying punctive events, as in (4). The rabbinic construction found in this type of setting does not resemble the maskilic usage discussed above.

(4)

פעם אחת היינו יושבים לפני רבי טרפון, ובאתה יבמה לחלוץ

Once we were sitting before Rabbi Tarfon when a sister-in-law came to perform *halisah* (Babylonian Talmud *Yevamot* 106b)

In Israeli Hebrew the *qatal* is the standard form used to convey past progressive events (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 40) (see 10.1 for exceptions to this convention). This is because present-day Hebrew is predominantly tense-based and the *qatal* serves to express all types of past actions. Thus Israeli and maskilic usages do not correspond in this regard.

(5)

כשצילצלת, אני בדיוק זיפדמתי בו

When you rang, I was just leafing through it (Glinert 1989, 125)

9.2 Present

9.2.1 Gnomic present

Qotels frequently convey states that are valid at all times. As they designate a kind of present state, they can be translated with the English simple present tense (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 127). *Yiqtol*s frequently appear in the same contexts (see 8.2.1), and the choice of one conjugation over the other in any given instance does not appear to be systematic. This can be seen by comparing (1)-(2) below with (1)-(3) in 8.2.1. The root *י.ד.ע.*, which often appears as a *qatal* or *yiqtol* with this sense, is sometimes attested as a *qotel*, as in (3).

(1)

שם ברחוב ההוא עומד בית קטן ושפל

There on that street stands a small, low house (Abramowitz 1862, 42)

(2)

”בעצבון רוח היתום הזה אני מאמין באמונה שלמה”

‘I believe in the sadness of that orphan with all my soul’ (Bogrov 1878a, 510)

(3)

”היא יודעת גם את האהבה מה היא!”

‘She also knows what love is!’ (Brandstädter 1872, 390)

In the Hebrew Bible the *qotel* can be used to indicate states of an eternal character (Joosten 1989, 149). This usage is particularly common in Late Biblical Hebrew (Driver 1892, 167-8), as in (5). *Yiqtol*s are frequently employed in the same contexts. This biblical usage corresponds to, and hence most likely inspired, the maskilic one; the only possible difference is that the biblical *qotel* is used specifically in order to highlight the sense that the subject is the one performing the action in question (Waltke and O’Connor 1990, 625), whereas the maskilic form seems to serve purely to indicate that the action in question has present tense value rather than drawing attention to the role of its performer.

(4)

אֶת תָּמָר אֲחוֹת אֲבִשָׁלָם אָחִי אֲנִי אֶהֱבֶה

I love Tamar, the sister of my brother Absalom (2 Sam. 13:4)

(5)

יֹדֵעַ צַדִּיק נֶפֶשׁ בְּהֵמָתוֹ

A righteous man knows the ways of his beast (Prov. 12:10)

Rabbinic Hebrew typically employs the *qotel* when conveying states that are eternally true. This usage most likely stems from the fact that in this variety of the language the *qotel* functions primarily as a present and future tense. Both Rabbinic and Maskilic Hebrew use the *qotel* in gnomic present

contexts, but the rabbinic utilisation of the form is more consistent than that of the maskilic authors, who employ the *yiqtol* as well in the same settings.

(6)

אוהב את המקום אוהב את הבריות אוהב את הצדקות אוהב את המישרים

[One who] loves God, loves humankind, loves justice, loves righteousness
(Mishnah *Avot* 6:6)

(7)

אמרו לו מנין אתה יודע

They said to him, 'How do you know?' (Mishnah *Berakhot* 5:5)

The *qotel* is used in Israeli Hebrew with reference to gnomic present states (Rosén 1966, 31), as in (8) and (9); this is because the *qotel* serves to convey all types of present tense in the modern form of the language. Additionally, in some written contexts the *yiqtol* may be used with gnomic present force (Tzivoni 1991, 61-2); however, this usage is relatively limited. The present corpus and Israeli Hebrew overlap to some extent in this respect, though the resemblance is only partial as the maskilic texts employ the *qotel* only occasionally with this meaning whereas present-day Hebrew does so extremely frequently.

(8)

הוא לא מבין עברית

He doesn't understand Hebrew (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 366)

(9)

ואת ידעת מה שם הרחוב שלך?

And do you know the name of your street? (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 371)

9.2.2 *Habitual present*

Although the *yiqtol* is the verbal form most frequently used in the corpus to indicate actions that take place on a recurring basis (see 8.2.2), *qotels* are found

with this sense as well. Such *qotels* can be translated with the English simple present, which is used to express actions that recur on a habitual basis (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 128). These *qotels* are sometimes found in conjunction with a time adverbial or other indication of when the action takes place, as in (1) and (2). They are attested in narrative, as in (1), and direct speech, as in (2) and (3). They appear in both main clauses, as in (1) and (2), and subordinate ones, as in (3). The selection of a *qotel* instead of a *yiqtol* on any particular instance does not appear to be predicated on syntactic or semantic concerns, as both conjugations are found in seemingly identical contexts.

(1)

שֶׁלֶשׁ פְּעָמִים בַּיּוֹם אֲנִי מִתְפַּלֵּל לֵאלֹהִים

I pray to God three times a day (Shulman 1873, 108)

(2)

"[...] הוּא מַעֲמִיד דְּבָרָיו תָּמִיד עַל דִּין תּוֹרָה [...]"

'[...] he always bases what he says on Torah law [...]' (Mapu 1857-69, 225)

(3)

"[...] לֹא יוֹכֵל שְׁמַעוֹן לִסְבּוֹל אֶת כָּל הַלַּחַץ הַגָּדוֹל, אֲשֶׁר אָבִיו לּוֹחֵץ אֹתוֹ [...]"

'[...] Shimon can't stand all of the great pressure that his father puts on him [...]' (Abramowitz 1862, 38)

While Biblical Hebrew usually employs the *yiqtol* in settings similar to those discussed above, *qotels* sometimes appear with this sense. There may be a difference in interpretation between the two conjugations, with the *yiqtol* indicating that the event in question should be read as a dynamic action and the *qotel* presenting it instead as a 'continuing state of affairs' (Waltke and O'Connor 1990, 626). Thus while both biblical and maskilic literature employ the *qotel* in similar circumstances, their underlying motivation may differ: it seems that the biblical use of a *qotel* with habitual meaning is rooted in the

conscious desire to present the action specifically as a state; by contrast, it is not clear that the maskilic authors had the same intention. In addition, the present corpus seems to employ the *qotel* in this type of setting more frequently than its biblical model; this could be due to post-biblical influence.

(4)

וַיִּרְדְּפוּ אֹתְכֶם כַּאֲשֶׁר תַּעֲשֶׂינָה הַדְּבָרִים

And they chased you as the bees do (Deut. 1:44)

Rabbinic Hebrew generally employs the *qotel* to denote actions that recur on a regular basis (Mishor 1983, 251, 263). This is most likely attributable to the fact that the rabbinic verbal system is predominantly tense-based and employs the *qotel* to designate present and future actions, including those of a habitual nature. In this regard maskilic usage corresponds to that of rabbinic writings, but the authors of the present corpus do not employ this form exclusively whereas tannaitic and amoraic texts do. This discrepancy is most likely due to the biblicising tendencies of the present corpus. However, the maskilic inclination to use the *qotel* in habitual contexts more often than the Hebrew Bible may be due to rabbinic influence.

(5)

הַנִּכְנָס לְבֵית הַמֵּרְחָץ מְבַנֵּי אָדָם עוֹמְדִין לְבוּשִׁין יֵשׁ שָׁם מִקְרָא וְתַפְלָה

One who goes into the bathhouse, in a place where people wear clothes [lit: stand dressed] one can read the Bible and pray there (Tosefta *Berakhot* 3:3)

In Israeli Hebrew habitual actions are conveyed exclusively by the *qotel*. This convention stems from the role of the *qotel* as the modern language's present tense. Israeli Hebrew usage thus mirrors that of maskilic literature to some extent, but as mentioned above the latter also frequently employs the *yiqtol* in the same contexts.

(6)

כל יום הם יוצאים מהבית בשבע

Every day they leave home at seven (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 36)

9.2.3 *Immediate present*

Qotels are often found in direct speech contexts referring to progressive actions that are taking place at the moment of speaking. In some cases these actions are of a relatively limited duration, having started only shortly before the time of utterance and continuing for a brief period thereafter, while in others they are of a more ongoing nature. *Yiqtol*s frequently appear in similar contexts (see 8.2.3). There is no indication that the choice of a *qotel* in certain settings is syntactically or semantically driven: like *yiqtol*s, *qotels* appear in main and subordinate clauses, as in (1) and (2) respectively, refer to durative as well as punctive actions, as in (1) and (2) in turn, and appear in the speech of all types of characters. The English translation value of *qotels* in this type of context is generally the present progressive, which serves to express actions ongoing at the present moment (Swan 1995, 460-1). However, the English equivalent of the Hebrew stative verbs is typically the simple present. The translations of (2) and (3) illustrate these two alternatives in turn.

(1)

”המה עושים כעת מלאכתם [...]”

‘They are doing their work now [...]’ (Abramowitz 1862, 48)

(2)

”[...] שובה וקרא ספרך, כי שומעים אנחנו”

‘[...] go back to reading your book, for we are listening [...]’ (Zweifel 1860, 28)

(3)

”[...] השיבו נפשו, השיבו נפשו, כי מתעלף הוא [...]”

‘[...] revive him, revive him, for he is fainting [...]’ (Gordon 1874b, 15)

Although Biblical Hebrew often employs the *yiqtol* with reference to presently occurring events, it can utilise the *qotel* in such contexts as well. Waltke and O'Connor (1990, 626) suggest that the latter is selected when there is a specific desire to present the action in question as a state; this analysis fits in with the main function of this form. Eskhult (1990, 121, 123) adds that this usage is typical of dialogue. Thus the biblical and maskilic texts seem to correspond in this respect, as both can employ the *qotel* with present meaning but do not necessarily do so. However, it is not certain that, when deciding whether to use a *qotel* or *yiqtol* to convey a given immediate present action, the authors of the present corpus had the same semantic distinctions in mind as those apparently in force in their biblical model. The fact that the *qotel* is used with various types of explicitly present meaning much more frequently in the maskilic texts than in Biblical Hebrew supports the likelihood that the authors viewed this form primarily as a verbal tense rather than as a symbol of a state of being.

(4)

וַיֹּאמֶר אֶת אֲחֵי אֲנֹכִי מִבְּקֶשׁ

He said, 'I am looking for my brothers' (Gen. 37:16)

Rabbinic Hebrew consistently employs the *qotel* to indicate that an action is in progress at the present moment (Azar 1995, 17). This is rooted in the rabbinic tendency to use the *qotel* as a present and future tense. The maskilic usage described in this entry parallels that found in rabbinic literature, although the two types of Hebrew diverge in that the *qotel* is not the only form used in immediate present contexts in the present corpus.

(5)

כָּל שֶׁנִּכְנס לָהּ וְאֵין אוֹמֵר מֶה אַתָּה מִבְּקֶשׁ פְּטוּרָה

Any [courtyard] into which one can enter without anyone saying, 'What are you looking for?' is exempt (Mishnah *Ma'aserot* 3:5)

In Israeli Hebrew the *qotel* is consistently used for all types of present action, including those taking place at the moment of speaking. In this regard Maskilic and Israeli Hebrew overlap, though as discussed above the present corpus often employs a *yiqtol* with the same meaning while the modern form of the language never does.

(6)

היא לא יכולה לדבר עכשיו בטלפון כי היא עובדת

She can't talk on the phone now because she is working (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 36)

9.2.4 *Present perfect progressive*

Qotels are attested in direct speech in contexts indicating that the actions in question began at a point prior to the time of utterance and continued uninterrupted up to that moment. These *qotels* have present tense value, as they designate actions that are currently in progress even though they began in the past. They are often accompanied by time adverbials or other explicit non-verbal indications of their actions' duration, as in (1)-(3). *Qotels* in these contexts can be translated with the English present perfect progressive, which serves to express actions and states that started at a point in the past and continued up to the present moment (Swan 1995, 424-5). The fact that the *qotel* is the conjugation used most often in present perfect progressive settings suggests that the authors associated the form with this meaning, whether consciously or not. Possible reasons for this practice will be examined below.

(1)

"וזה שלש שנים אני מלמד בבולוואקאווקא בבית הגביר [...]"

'And for the past three years I have been teaching in Bulvokovka at the rich man's house [...]' (Shulman 1873, 90)

(2)

"[...] וזה שנתיים ימים אנכי נחמד בחוץ לארץ לאסוף נדבות [...]"

'[...] and for two years now I have been wandering around the Diaspora lands collecting charity [...]' (Gordon 1874b, 8)

(3)

"[...] זה חמש שנים אשר אתה יושב בעיר פאריז [...]"

'[...] you have been living in the city of Paris for five years [...]' (Brock 1877, 301)

In Biblical Hebrew the primary function of the verbal *qotel* is the expression of a 'state of affairs' as opposed to a 'bare event' (Waltke and O'Connor 1990, 614). As such, it has no tense value of its own; this is inferred from the context and *qotels* can appear in past, present or future environments. Although biblical *qotels* are frequently found in present contexts, they never convey actions that began in the past and progressed up to the present moment. Rather, such events are presented using the *qatal* (Gesenius 1910, 312). In this respect the maskilic usage does not seem to be traceable to its biblical predecessor.

(4)

וְאֲנִי הִתְחַלֵּקְתִּי לְפָנֶיכֶם מִנְעָרִי עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה

And I have been leading you [lit: walking before you] from my youth until this day (1 Sam. 12:2)

Rabbinic Hebrew employs the *qotel* in order to convey a progressive action that started in the past and continued up to the present moment (Mishor 1983, 258), as in the following example from Sifra. The fact that the rabbinic and maskilic ways of expressing such events correspond, while both differ from biblical convention, suggests that the authors of the present corpus were inspired by rabbinic literature in this regard.

(5)

הָרִי אַרְבַּע שָׁנִים אֲנִי מִצְטָעֵר בּוֹ חִינָם

I have been labouring for them for four years, in vain (Weiss 1862, 90a)

In Israeli Hebrew the *qotel* is used to express present actions continuing from the past (Tzivoni 1991, 57). This usage may be attributable to the fact that the *qotel* serves as a present tense in the modern language's tripartite tense system. Israeli Hebrew usage overlaps with that of the maskilic corpus in this instance, and it is possible that both in turn originate in rabbinic convention.

(6)

היא יושבת ומחכה כאן כבר שעות

She has been sitting and waiting here for hours (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 36)

9.3 Future

9.3.1 Intended future

Qotels appearing in direct speech can designate actions that the speaker expects to happen sometime following the moment of utterance. In such cases the context indicates that the subject of the *qotel* in question consciously intends to carry out its action. Each of these *qotels* in the present corpus is accompanied by an adverbial signalling the anticipated timing of the intended event. This can be seen in (1). The English equivalent of *qotels* appearing in these contexts is the construction 'going to' + infinitive, or the present progressive tense, both of which are used to designate planned future actions (Swan 1995, 210-1). The *yiqtol* is often employed in similar settings (see 8.3.2), and there does not seem to be a clear semantic motivation for the selection of one conjugation or the other on any given occasion as both are used to indicate that the subject plans to perform an action in the future. However, the fact that *yiqtol*s in these contexts are not normally found in conjunction with temporal adverbials while *qotels* frequently are may indicate that the authors' inclination to use the latter form in certain instances was prompted by the proximity of such non-verbal markers.

(1)

”[...] מחר אני חולץ מזה [...]”

‘[...] tomorrow I’m leaving here [...]’ (Nisselowitz 1875, 152)

(2)

”[...] אחזור לך את התנאים [...] גם שולח אני לך בחזרה את המתנות [...]”

‘[...] I am going to break off the engagement [...] I am also going to send the presents back to you [...]’ (Abramowitz 1862, 11)

Biblical Hebrew frequently employs the *qotel* in direct speech to denote an intended future action that is due to take place immediately following the moment of utterance (Williams 1976, 39; Van der Merwe, Naudé, and Kroeze 1999, 162). In such cases the *qotel* is frequently preceded by the particle הנה, which is used to convey immediacy, vividness or logical connection with a previous situation (Waltke and O’Connor 1990, 627). The biblical and maskilic treatments of the *qotel* overlap in this respect, but there are syntactic and semantic differences between the two. Firstly, the biblical *qotel* often follows the particle הנה, whereas its maskilic counterpart does not typically do so. Secondly, the biblical form does not often have an accompanying time adverbial, while the maskilic one generally does. Thirdly, the biblical *qotel* usually designates an imminent event, whereas the maskilic form can refer to a plan expected to take place in the more distant future. Therefore it is likely that the maskilic authors’ use of the *qotel* with reference to future plans was not informed exclusively by the biblical model.

(3)

וְאֲנִי הֹנֵי מַבְיָא אֶת הַמָּבּוּל

I am about to send a flood (Gen. 6:17)

(4)

אֵינִי נֹתֵן לָכֶם תֶּבֶן

I am not going to give you straw (Exod. 5:10)

In Rabbinic Hebrew the *qotel* may convey future actions containing an element of intention. However, according to Sharvit (1980, 112-3) this form appears only rarely in future contexts in comparison to the compound construction עתיד ל- followed by an infinitive, particularly when distant future events are concerned or when a temporal adverbial accompanies the verb. Azar (1995, 15, 19) supports this, stating that the *qotel* is employed only when the action are on the point of taking place, as in (5), whereas in more distant future contexts עתיד ל- followed by an infinitive is preferred, as in (6). Conversely, Mishor (1983, 253-4) argues that the *qotel* may be used to denote both near and distant future. Thus the rabbinic use of the *qotel* with reference to intended future actions resembles that found in the maskilic corpus to some degree. However, in the Mishnah and Talmud the verb is not necessarily accompanied by a temporal adverb while in maskilic literature it generally is; secondly, in rabbinic literature the *qotel* may be more commonly used only for imminent planned actions, whereas in the present corpus it frequently refers to more distant events as well. The fact that this maskilic usage does not fully correspond to either of its canonical predecessors suggests that its authors may have been influenced by their own vernacular in this regard.

(5)

נשבע אני בשמך הגדול שאיני זז מכאן עד שתרחם על בניך

I swear by Your great name that I shall not move from here until You have mercy on Your children (Mishnah *Ta'anit* 3:8)

(6)

מה שאני עתיד להפריש מחר חרי הוא מעשר

That which I am going to set apart tomorrow, let it be a tithe (Mishnah *Demai* 7:1)

In Yiddish the present tense is commonly used to denote planned future actions (Mark 1978, 276), often but not necessarily with a time reference. Such actions may be on the point of occurring or be scheduled for a

later date. (7) contains an intended future action due to take place at an unspecified time but not immediately following the moment of utterance. The fact that the maskilic grammarians seemed to perceive the *qotel* chiefly as a type of present tense (Lerner 1865, 42; Reichersohn 1873, 3-4) means that they most likely associated this form with the Yiddish present tense. Therefore the precise correspondence between this Yiddish usage and that found in the present corpus is logical and suggests that the maskilic authors were influenced to some degree by their own native tongue in this respect.

(7)

"דער פֿעטער נעמט מיך מיט קיין פּאָלעניץ"

'My uncle is taking me with him to Polenitz' (Singer 1979, 260)

In Israeli Hebrew the *qotel* is frequently employed in both direct speech and narrative to designate an action that the subject has decided to perform in the future (Tobin 1990, 470-1), whether immediately or at a later point. Such verbs are often accompanied by a temporal adverbial indicating the timing of the planned event. Thus Israeli Hebrew precisely mirrors its maskilic antecedent, and since these two forms of Hebrew are more similar to each other and to Yiddish in this respect than to Biblical and Rabbinic Hebrew, it is possible that present-day usage was influenced by Yiddish via the maskilic corpus, though as discussed elsewhere the Israeli Hebrew usage may be traceable directly to Yiddish.

(8)

שובתים מחר

They're striking tomorrow (Glinert 1989, 122)

9.4 *Conditional/irrealis*

9.4.1 *Irrealis*

Qotels are sometimes found in contexts suggesting that they denote hypothetical actions. Such *qotels* always refer to an imaginary time concurrent

with the deictic centre of the sentence; thus, in narrative they have past tense value, as in (1), while in dialogue they usually have present reference, as in (2). They are always introduced by *כמו* or *כאילו*. This use of the *qotel* is extremely rare: it is attested only in the instances shown in (1) and (2) and in Eisenstadt (1870, 256), Neiman (1878, 322), Schulman (1857-60, 3:138), Gordon (1874a, 44), Mapu (1857-69, 356), and Meinkin (1881, 19). *Yiqtol*s are used much more frequently in seemingly identical contexts, and there is no clear reason for the use of one form instead of the other on any given occasion (see 8.5.3). *Qatals* are also commonly found in irreal contexts (see 7.3.3). However, there are three differences between these conjugations: firstly, *qotels* are used only with reference to states or progressive actions, while the *qatal* often indicates punctive actions; secondly, *qotels* can have both past and non-past value, whereas *qatals* can have only past reference; thirdly, *qotels* always share the temporal value of the sentence's main verb, whereas *qatals* may refer to an earlier point. *Qotels* conveying hypothetical actions with past tense value can be equated with the English construction consisting of 'as if' followed by a preterite or other past tense verb or the irrealis form 'were'; those with irreal present-tense value have an English translation value of 'as if' and the simple present, present progressive, or irrealis 'were' depending on the value of the verb in question. See Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 1151-4 for details.

(1)

עיניה [...] משוטטות אנה ואנה כמו מבקשות עזר

Her eyes [...] were wandering here and there as if looking for help (Berezkin 1877, 18)

(2)

"[...] וכל הפוגם בכבודו כאלו ממעט את הדמות [...]"

'[...] anyone who damages his honour, it is as if he is demeaning the [divine] image [...]' Mapu (1857-69, 227)

In Biblical Hebrew contrary-to-fact actions are consistently conveyed by *qatal*s (Davidson 1994, 69). The *qotel* does not seem to be employed in such settings. Thus the maskilic usage is not based on biblical precedent.

(3)

הרינו חלנו כמו ילדנו רוח

We were with child; we writhed as though we had borne the wind (Isa. 26:18)

The use of the different conjugations in the presentation of Rabbinic Hebrew irreal actions is not discussed in the literature and therefore it is difficult to confirm precisely how this stratum of the language compares to the maskilic corpus. However, examination of the rabbinic corpora suggests that this form of Hebrew customarily employs the *qatal* preceded by the conjunction *כאילו* in past irrealis contexts, as in (4), while in present settings it generally utilises the *qotel*, as in (5). In this respect the maskilic and rabbinic usages overlap in that both employ the *qotel* with reference to present-tense irrealis, but seem to differ in that the maskilic authors use this form in past settings as well.

(4)

העושה סוכתו תחת האילן כאלו עשאה בתוך הבית

If someone makes his sukkah under a tree, it is as if he made it inside the house (Mishnah *Sukkah* 1:2)

(5)

מגיד הכתוב שכל מי ששונא את ישראל כאלו שונא את מי שאמר והיה העולם

The passage teaches that anyone who hates Israel, it is as if he hates the One who spoke and the world came into being (Basser 1998, xli)

In Israeli Hebrew the *qotel* preceded by *כאילו* is used in contexts indicating irreal actions presented as if they are taking place concurrently with the deictic centre of the sentence. Thus they may express relative past or

present tense, as in (6) and (7) respectively. In this respect Israeli and Maskilic Hebrew correspond precisely, except for the fact that the maskilic authors may employ either *כמו* or *כאילו*. The fact that Maskilic and Israeli Hebrew resemble each other while differing from the earlier canonical strata of the language suggests that, as in other instances discussed in this study, the maskilic usage may have contributed to that of Israeli Hebrew.

(6)

הרגשתי כאילו אני נופלת

I felt as if I were falling (Glinert 1989, 344)

(7)

אתה מתנהג כאילו אתה לא יודע עכשיו

You're behaving as if you don't know now (Glinert 1989, 135)

9.4.2 *Protasis of real conditions*

Qotels are often employed in the corpus in order to present the action of a real (factual) condition as if it is happening at the moment in which the conditional statement is made. *Qotels* are used in real conditions only when the actions to which they refer have present tense value; the authors use *qatals* and *yiqtol*s to denote past or future actions in these settings (see 7.3.4 and 8.5.4). This practice indicates that the maskilic authors' selection of conjugation in real conditional contexts was motivated primarily by considerations of tense. These *qotels* are usually found in direct speech, as in (1) and (2). They are best translated with the English present tense, which is the form most commonly found in the protases of real conditions with present and future tense value (Swan 1995, 246).

(1)

"אבל באיזה דרך תכנוס ההשכלה בלבם, אם הם מאניס לקראת?"

'But how will they embrace the Enlightenment, if they refuse to read?'

(Abramowitz 1862, 31)

(2)

"[...] אם חפץ אתה להיות נמנה בין צדיקים, קרא [...]"

'[...] if you want to be counted among the righteous, read [...]' (Mapu 1857-69, 238)

Biblical Hebrew typically employs the *yiqtol* in the protasis of a real condition to designate an action valid at the time of the statement. Such a *yiqtol* appears in (3). On occasion a *qatal* can be used in a similar context, as shown in (4). While *qotels* can be used in the protasis of Biblical Hebrew real conditions (Driver 1892, 177), they usually refer to possible future actions, as in (5), rather than present factual ones. Biblical usage differs from that of the maskilic corpus in that it does not appear to employ the *qotel* in the protases of real conditions in order to denote actions valid at the moment in which the statement is made. Moreover, Biblical and Maskilic Hebrew diverge in that the selection of conjugation in the protases of biblical real conditions is largely motivated by aspectual considerations, whereas the choice of verbal form in their maskilic counterparts seems to be based on tense value. This suggests that the maskilic practice is rooted in post-Biblical Hebrew.

(3)

אם אתה תִּקַּח לְךָ קַח

If you want that one, take it (1 Sam. 21:10)

(4)

אם חִכְמָתְךָ חִכְמָתְךָ לְךָ

If you are wise, you are wise for yourself (Prov. 9:12)

(5)

אם מִן הַבָּקָר הוּא מִקְרִיב אִם זָכָר אִם נִקְבָּה תָּמִים יִקְרִיבֶנּוּ לִפְנֵי יְהוָה

If he offers of the herd, whether a male or a female, he must bring one without a blemish before the Lord (Lev. 3:1)

Rabbinic Hebrew typically employs the *qotel* to convey a present- or future-tense action in the protasis of a real condition (Segal 1927, 229). A *qotel* with present force is shown in (6). In this regard the rabbinic and maskilic corpora appear to overlap, as both use the *qotel* in the protases of real conditions to denote actions with present reference. The fact that maskilic usage resembles that of Rabbinic rather than Biblical Hebrew suggests that the authors of the present corpus were influenced by the language of the Mishnah and Talmud in this regard. However, the maskilic phenomenon differs from the rabbinic one in that maskilic *qotels* in real conditional protases are restricted to present contexts whereas their rabbinic predecessors can be used with future force as well. This difference suggests a possible influence from another linguistic source on the maskilic authors.

(6)

אם אינו יכול לירד יחזיר את פניו

If he cannot go down, he must turn his face around (Mishnah *Berakhot* 4:5)

In Yiddish the present tense can be used to convey real conditional protases with present or general validity (Schaechter 2003, 307). (7) illustrates such a case. As the Yiddish present tense can be equated with the Maskilic Hebrew *qotel*, the Yiddish usage seems to resemble that found in the present corpus; thus, as in many other instances, this Maskilic Hebrew usage may be rooted in its authors' vernacular.

(7)

אויב איך ווייס, קום איך ; אויב איך ווייס נישט, קום איך נישט

If I know [about something], I come; if I don't know, I don't come (Schaechter 2003, 307)

Israeli Hebrew consistently employs the *qotel* in the protasis of a real condition to denote an action with present reference (Bar 2003, 113). This is illustrated in (8). This present-day Hebrew usage is identical to that found in

the maskilic corpus. The fact that Maskilic and Israeli Hebrew mirror each other as well as Yiddish in this regard while differing slightly from biblical and rabbinic literature suggests that the maskilic authors may have introduced this usage into the modern language. However, as in other cases the Israeli Hebrew phenomenon may be attributable directly to Yiddish influence.

(8)

אם אתה רוצה לעשות כסף, אתה צריך לעבוד קשה

If you want to make money, you have to work hard (Chayat, Israeli, and Kobliner 2001, 118)

9.5 Other

9.5.1 Concurrent action

The *qotel* is most frequently used in the corpus to designate an event taking place at the same time as another, main action. Such *qotels* can occur in narrative as well as dialogue. They take their tense value from the adjacent main verb and can therefore have past, present or future force. In both narrative and dialogue they often appear in proximity to temporal clauses or *qatals* and *yiqtol*s with past tense value that serve to advance the main storyline; in such cases the *qotels* break up the narrative, providing background information that sets the scene and adds details before the resumption of the sequential actions. (1) and (2) illustrate this trend. By contrast, when found in present or future settings, *qotels* denoting concurrent action share this tense value. Such a case can be seen in (3). The main verbs typically refer to perception, particularly sight and hearing, as in (2) and (3) respectively. The translation value of these *qotels* is the English present participle, which is used following main verbs of perception (Swan 1995, 407).

(1)

כאשר בא ברכיה בבקר אל חדר אשכנזי מצאהו יושב ביחד עם יעבץ

When Berakhia came into Ashkenazi's room he found him sitting with Ya'avetz (Gottlob 1876, 378)

(2)

"[...] ראיתי אשה שוכבת על הארץ [...]"

'[...] I saw a woman lying on the ground [...]' (Shulman 1866, 2:20)

(3)

"מאוד תעלוזנה כליותי לשמוע דברים כאלה יוצאים מפוך [...]"

'My heart is most delighted to hear such words coming out of your mouth [...]' (Smolenskin 1867, 55)

Biblical Hebrew often employs a *qotel* preceded by a *waw*-conjunctive to denote an action taking place at the same time as a main event conveyed by a finite verb (Gordon 1982, 135), as in (4). In addition, it may employ the *qotel* without a preceding conjunction in such contexts (Davidson 1994, 168-9), as in (5). The settings for such circumstantial clauses can have past, present or future value and the *qotels* take their time reference accordingly. This lack of intrinsic tense value is in keeping with the nature of the biblical *qotel*, which serves to present events as states of being rather than mere actions. Maskilic and Biblical Hebrew partially overlap in that they both employ *qotels* with concurrent meaning; however, the biblical *qotels* are often found as part of a larger circumstantial clause introduced by the *waw*-conjunctive while the maskilic forms always stand alone.

(4)

וַיֵּצְאוּ כָל הָעָם אַחֲרָיו וְהָעָם מְחַלְלִים בְּחִלְלִים

And all the people went behind him playing pipes (1 Kings 1:40)

(5)

וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ אֶת קוֹל יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים מְתַחַלֵּךְ בְּגֶן

They heard the sound of the Lord God moving about in the garden (Gen. 3:8)

Rabbinic Hebrew sometimes employs the *qotel* independently to denote an action that is taking place at the same time as a main verb (Segal 1908, 696), as in (6); however, it more frequently introduces it with an adverb such as כש- (Gordon 1982, 159). In such settings the *qotels* take their tense value from the adjacent main verb: for example, the *qotel* in (7) refers to the present whereas the one in (8) has future value. The maskilic and rabbinic conventions overlap to some extent in this regard, although the Mishnah and Talmud often employ a non-verbal form to introduce the circumstantial action, whereas the present corpus does not. Thus the maskilic authors appear to have selected one biblical and rabbinic way of conveying circumstantial clauses with *qotels* and avoided the others.

(6)

שמרה עומדת על פתח חצרה

He saw her standing at the entrance to her courtyard (Mishnah *Baba Qamma* 8:6)

(7)

הרואה כהן גדול כשהוא קורא אינו רואה פר ושעיר הנשרפים

One who sees the High Priest reading [lit: when he is reading] does not see the bullock and goat being burnt (Mishnah *Yoma* 7:2)

(8)

גיירני על מנת שתלמדני כל התורה כולה כשאני עומד על רגל אחת

Convert me, on the condition that you teach me the entire Torah while I am standing on one foot (Babylonian Talmud *Shabbat* 31a)

Israeli Hebrew consistently employs the *qotel* alone to indicate concurrent action (Glinert 1989, 311). As in other forms of the language, such actions take their tense value from the main verb and so can have a past, present or future sense. Israeli Hebrew mirrors the maskilic corpus identically in this respect. This correspondence and the fact that no other forms of

Hebrew use the *qotel* in this way so consistently may constitute evidence of maskilic input into the formation of Israeli Hebrew structure.

(9)

שמעתי אותן שרות שירים

I heard them singing songs (Glinert 1989, 311)

10 PERIPHRASTIC CONSTRUCTIONS

10.1 *Past progressive with hayah + qotel*

The maskilic authors frequently employ a compound construction composed of a *qatal* of the root ה.י.ה followed by a *qotel* to present a past action as an ongoing process. Periphrastic constructions in this type of setting portray actions as imperfective in much the same way as *yiqtol*s often do. They can occur independently of other verbs, indicating a process that was ongoing at some point prior to the moment of speaking or time of narrative. Additionally, they are often found in close proximity to a *qatal* conveying a preterite action. In such cases it often seems that the imperfective action expressed by the compound construction was in the middle of happening when it was interrupted by that of the perfective *qatal*. This can be seen in (1) and (2). The use of these periphrastic forms appears to be random rather than semantically or syntactically motivated, as they can appear in narrative as well as direct speech and in the utterances of both cultured and uneducated characters. They are the functional equivalent of the English past progressive tense, which is used with reference to ongoing past actions (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 162-4).

(1)

"[...] הן ארך לי הלילה הזה, ובכליון עיניים הייתי מצפה דרך בואך [...]"

'[...] that night felt very long to me, and I was waiting breathlessly for your arrival [...]' (Mapu 1857-69, 239)

(2)

שפתי היו נעות מכעס ומגנת לב כאלו אחזני השבץ, אבל רחב נסגרה בתוך חדרה ואנכי יצאתי

My lips were moving from anger and misery as if I were having a seizure, but Rahab closed herself within her room and I left (Gordon 1874b, 4)

As a rule Biblical Hebrew does not convey ongoing past actions with a periphrastic construction analogous to that found in maskilic literature. As discussed in 8.1.3 and 9.1.2, *qotel*s are usually found in contexts indicating ongoing past actions. (3) illustrates this trend. Nevertheless, on occasion the *qatal* of the root ה.י.ה appears immediately before a *qotel* in a past context and can indicate a progressive past action (Williams 1976, 39; Waltke and O'Connor 1990, 628-9; Davidson 1994, 138). (4) may constitute such an instance. However, the nature of this marginal construction is unclear: Hatav (1997, 75) suggests that the few attestations constitute 'penetrations from a later stage of the language', while Waltke and O'Connor (1990, 629) argue that uncertainty regarding the function of the form, particularly in the earlier books, precludes the drawing of definitive conclusions. This lack of clear correspondence between the maskilic and biblical corpora indicates that the maskilic authors based their usage on a post-biblical source.

(3)

וַיַּחְלֹם וַהֲנִיחַ סֹלֶם מֵצֵב אֶרֶצָה וְרֹאשׁוֹ מֵגִיעַ הַשָּׁמַיְמָה וַהֲנִיחַ מַלְאָכֵי אֱלֹהִים עָלָיו וַיַּרְדּוּ בּוֹ

He dreamed that a ladder was set on the ground, with its top reaching up to the heavens, and angels of God were going up and down on it (Gen. 28:12)

(4)

וַיֵּלֶךְ אֶלְקָנָה הַרְמָתָה עַל בֵּיתוֹ וַהֲנִיעַ הָיָה מְשָׁרֵת אֶת יְהוָה

Then Elkanah went home to Ramah, while the youth was serving the Lord (1 Sam. 2:11; translation based on Williams 1976, 39)

Alternate translation: Then Elkanah went home to Ramah, and the boy served the Lord

Rabbinic Hebrew often uses precisely the same compound form as the one appearing in the present corpus to convey a past action as an ongoing process. This type of rabbinic periphrastic form often represents an action in progress at the same time as, and possibly interrupted by, a preterite conveyed by a *qatal*; in such cases the compound form can be seen as a kind of

background event against the foreground action of the *qatal* (Mishor 1983, 359). (5) illustrates this. This identical resemblance between Maskilic and Rabbinic Hebrew strongly indicates that the maskilic usage is rooted in that of its rabbinic predecessor. The fact that the maskilic authors do not appear to have employed this form in order to convey any particular semantic notion suggests that this rabbinic influence may have been unintentional.

(5)

פעם אחת היינו יושבים לפני רבי טרפון, ובאתה יבמה לחלוץ

Once we were sitting before Rabbi Tarfon when a sister-in-law came to perform *halisah* (Babylonian Talmud *Yevamot* 106b)

Israeli Hebrew, in contrast to that of the maskilic corpus and rabbinic writings, does not normally use this compound construction to denote an ongoing past event; rather, it employs the *qatal* alone (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 39-40) and relies on adverbial expressions or non-verbal lexical items if the narrator or speaker desires to stress the progressive nature of a past action. This is exemplified in (6). However, the periphrastic form found in Rabbinic and Maskilic Hebrew is occasionally employed in two specific and contrasting registers of the modern language, namely literary fiction and 'substandard' colloquial speech (Berman 1978, 164). This phenomenon is illustrated in (7). Thus the maskilic construction discussed above is not a feature of normative Israeli Hebrew, but is attested in certain limited circumstances.

(6)

כשצילצלת, אני בדיוק דיפדפתי בו

When you rang, I was just leafing through it (Glinert 1989, 125)

(7)

הייתי ישן כשפרצו

I was sleeping when they broke in (Glinert 1989, 126)

10.2 *Past habitual with hayah + qotel*

The maskilic authors frequently employ a compound form composed of the *qatal* of the root ה.י.ה followed by a *qotel*, with the entire construction indicating that the action of the *qotel* happened on multiple occasions at some time prior to the moment of speaking or main narrative sequence. Such forms thus convey habitual aspect. These constructions are functionally equivalent to the English constructions 'used to' or 'would' + infinitive, which serve to denote repeated past actions (Swan 1995, 633). *Qatal* and *yiqtol* forms are often employed in the corpus in similar contexts (see 7.1.1 and 8.1.2). It is possible that the alternation between these two forms represents a conscious choice by the authors. All of the attestations of these periphrastic forms refer to actions that took place on many instances over a substantial period: for example, the action expressed by the compound form in (1) – the study of Talmud and legal authorities – happened on many occasions over a considerable length of time. By contrast, *qatals* and *yiqtols* often indicate events that took place repeatedly but within a short amount of time (see 7.1.1 and 8.1.2 for examples). However, this interpretation is far from certain, as *qatals* and *yiqtols* can also refer to more long-term habitual situations. There do not seem to be any other semantic or syntactic factors motivating the authors' selection of the periphrastic construction. They appear in narrative as well as direct speech and in the utterances of both maskilic and traditional Jews; thus they clearly do not serve to indicate vernacular or uncultured speech. For example, (4) contains a compound form in a statement made by an educated maskilic character.

(1)

לפנים בישראל, בטרם פרחו החסידות [...] רוב חכמיהם ורבניהם היו עוסקים רק בתלמוד ופוסקים

Formerly among the Jews, before the spread of Hasidism [...] most of their scholars and rabbis used to study only the Talmud and legal authorities (Gottlob 1876, 244)

(2)

וכל הכסף היה יורד ומתגלגל אל כיס הרב ומוכרי הטליתים

And all of the money used to fall into the pockets of the rabbi and the prayer-shawl sellers (Dick 1867, 323)

(3)

כן התנודדה כשהיתה שומעת את שם הקדושים

She shook thus when she would hear the holy name (Abramowitz 1862, 9)

(4)

"[...] בשנה הראשונה היה יושב סגור בחדרו והוגה [...]"

'[...] in the first year he used to sit closed in his room and ponder [...]' (Mapu 1857-69, 227)

Biblical Hebrew does not use a periphrastic construction to express habitual past events; rather, it employs the *yiqtol*. This is in keeping with the key function of the biblical *yiqtol* – the presentation of events as imperfective processes – because habitual past actions are by nature repeated and can thus easily be perceived as imperfective. Biblical Hebrew does not make a distinction between past or future habitual events, using the *yiqtol* for both. This is illustrated in (5) and (6), which show the *yiqtol* in a past and present context respectively. This usage differs from that of the corpus' compound form, which is employed solely for habitual actions that occurred prior to the present moment. The divergence between the two types of Hebrew indicates that the maskilic authors were influenced by a post-biblical source in this regard.

(5)

וְכֹן יַעֲשֶׂה שָׁנָה בְּשָׁנָה

And thus he would do year after year (1 Sam. 1:7)

(6)

וַיִּרְדְּפוּ אֶתְכֶם כַּאֲשֶׁר תַּעֲשִׂינָה הַדְּבָרִים

And they chased you as the bees do (Deut. 1:44)

Rabbinic Hebrew, unlike its biblical predecessor, possesses a periphrastic construction that formally mirrors the one found in the present corpus and has a seemingly identical function. The *qatal* + *qotel* form is frequently used in rabbinic texts to designate past actions that took place on many occasions. As in the maskilic texts, the rabbinic compound form serves to express habitual aspect combined with past tense. This is exemplified in (7). The precise correspondence between maskilic and rabbinic literature in this regard clearly indicates that the authors of the present corpus were influenced by the language of the Mishnah and Talmud. The lack of clear semantic motivation underlying the maskilic utilisation of the periphrastic construction in past habitual contexts suggests that their adoption of this rabbinic form may not have been intentional.

(7)

היו נועלין ומניחין את המפתח בחלון שעל גבי הפתח

They used to lock up and put the key in a window over the door (Mishnah 'Eruvin 10:9)

The compound construction composed of *hayah qotel* is used very commonly in habitual past contexts in Israeli Hebrew, often with an accompanying temporal adverb (Tzivoni 1991, 59). This is illustrated in (8). In this way the modern form of the language resembles both rabbinic writings and maskilic literature.

(8)

הילד היה מנגן בפסנתר כל יום אחר הצהריים

The boy used to play the piano every afternoon (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 298)

11 WAYYIQTOL AND WEQATAL

11.1 *Wayyiqtol*11.1.1 *Wayehi functioning as finite verb meaning 'became'*

Wayehi, and the feminine *watehi*, frequently function as a finite verb meaning 'became'. In such cases the apocopated form typically corresponds with its subject in gender and number, as in (1). However, on occasion there is a discrepancy, as in (2), in which the apocopated form is feminine singular whereas its subject is masculine plural. The predicate immediately following the *wayehi* in this type of context is invariably prefixed by the inseparable preposition *-ל*, which seems to play a semantic role in indicating that the entire construction designates the process of transformation.

(1)

"[...] נמס לבי בקרבי ויהי למים [...]"

'[...] my heart melted within me and became water [...]' (Leinwand 1875-6, 1:26)

(2)

ותהי הנשואין בימים האלה לצחוק בעיני כל העם

And the weddings on those days became a joke in the eyes of the entire people (Dick 1867, 313)

In Biblical Hebrew *wayehi* can function 'as an ordinary verb in the past tense: became' (Van der Merwe, Naudé, and Kroeze 1999, 333). The biblical phenomenon seems to mirror its maskilic counterpart to a great extent. However, in the Hebrew Bible *wayehi* conveys the sense of 'become' on its own whereas in the maskilic corpus the form generally seems to require a subsequent *-ל* in order to express this meaning.

(3)

וַיְהִי יְהוָה אֶת יוֹסֵף וַיְהִי אִישׁ מְצַלִּיחַ

Now the Lord was with Joseph and he became a successful man (Gen. 39:2)

Rabbinic Hebrew does not use the construction *wayehi* in any capacity. In order to convey a transformation into a given state it frequently employs the verb *נעשה*, the *nif'al* of the root *ע.ש.ה.* (Jastrow 1903, 1125). Rabbinic usage is thus incomparable with the maskilic phenomenon discussed above.

(4)

אילו הייתי יודע שהוא נעשה סופר או שהיה משיא את בנו בקרוב לא הייתי נודר

If I had known that he would become a scribe or that he was about to marry off his daughter, I would not have made a vow (Mishnah *Nedarim* 9:2)

Israeli Hebrew does not employ the *waw*-consecutive or apocopated verbal forms. It customarily expresses the meaning 'become' with the *nif'al* of the root *ה.י.ה.* or *ע.ש.ה.*, and this way is not analogous to the maskilic texts. However, there is a certain resemblance between the two forms of the language in that Israeli Hebrew can also employ the phrase *להפוך ל-* with the same sense. While the verbs are different, both types of Hebrew utilise the preposition *ל-* in the same position. Whether this correspondence is evidence of influence or simply a coincidence, however, cannot be determined.

(5)

ירושלים הפכה למקום בטוח

Jerusalem has become a safe place (Bliboim 1995, 62)

11.1.2 *Wayehi* functioning as finite verb meaning 'was/were'

Wayehi and *watehi* sometimes serve as a finite past tense verb with the translation value 'was/were'. In such cases the verb agrees with its subject in gender and number. This usage is relatively infrequent but is distributed throughout the corpus. It typically appears in the middle of a narrative episode, most commonly in the middle of a sentence, as in (1) and (2), but sometimes at the beginning, as in (3).

(1)

אביו היה איש לא לומד, אבל זקן הולך במישרים ויהי נשוא פנים בעמו

His father was an uneducated man, but a righteous old man, and he was respected among his people (Gordon 1874b, 6)

(2)

"[...]מצאנו חית ידנו, ותהי שמחתנו גדולה כעל כל הון, אשר רכשתי בימי אשרי."

'[...] we made a living, and our joy was greater than any fortunes that I had amassed during my days of happiness' (Mapu 1857-69, 219)

(3)

איש היה בעיר פראג לפני מאה שנים ויותר, אפרים שמו. ויהי האיש ההוא רוכל

There once was a man in the city of Prague more than a hundred years ago, called Ephraim. And that man was a merchant (Gordon 1861, 297)

In Biblical Hebrew *wayehi* often carries the force of the finite verb 'be' (Hatav 1997, 70-1). According to Van der Merwe, Naudé, and Kroeze (1999, 332-3) the construction appears with this sense at the beginning of a new narrative episode, as a signal that a given state is a part of the surrounding narrative, or at the end of a scene. (4) illustrates this practice, as *wayehi* introduces a new storyline. By contrast, (5) contains *wayehi* in the middle of a narrative chain. The biblical and maskilic texts appear to mirror each other in this respect. Moreover, some of the maskilic *wayehi* constructions may be based on biblical verses: for example, (3) echoes Job 1:1-3. As in many other cases it is not clear whether the authors of the present corpus were as consistent in their motivations for employing this construction as their biblical model. The fact that the maskilic construction usually appears in the middle of a sentence or paragraph rather than at the beginning or end of an episode suggests that the authors were not completely aware of the range of functions of the biblical equivalent. It may be that the maskilic writers employed the construction simply because the apocopated form with prefixed *waw-*

consecutive was familiar to them due to its high rate of occurrence in the Bible.

(4)

וְהָיָה אִישׁ אֶחָד מִן הַרְמָתִים

Now there was a certain man from Ramathaim (1 Sam. 1:1)

(5)

וַיְהִי שָׁם בְּבֵית הַסֵּהֶר: וַיְהִי יְהוָה אִתּוֹ יוֹסֵף וַיֵּט אֱלֹהֵי חֶסֶד

And while he was in prison there, the Lord was with Joseph, and He dealt mercifully with him (Gen. 39:20-1)

Rabbinic Hebrew never employs the construction *wayehi*; it conveys past states of being with the *qatal* of the root ה.י.ה, as in (6). Rabbinic writings possess no equivalent to the construction discussed above.

(6)

אף הוא העיד על כפר קטן שהיה בצד ירושלם והיה בו זקן אחד

He testified also of a small village next to Jerusalem, where there was a certain old man (Mishnah 'Eduyot 2:3)

Israeli Hebrew, like its rabbinic predecessor, employs only the *qatal* of the root ה.י.ה in contexts such as those described above; it possesses no structure comparable to the maskilic *wayehi*.

(7)

הסרט הישן היה מערבון

The old movie was a Western (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 319)

11.1.3 *Wayyiqtol as narrative tense*

*Wayyiqtol*s often appear in narrative portions of the corpus conveying sequential, perfective past actions that advance the main storyline. They are also found in direct speech contexts, in which they designate similar actions

that took place at a time prior to the moment of utterance. Such *wayyiqtol*s are generally translatable with English preterite verbs, as they convey punctive past actions. Usually these forms are introduced by one or more *qatal*s, as in (1) and (2), but they occasionally initiate a narrative sequence themselves, as in (3). *Wayyiqtol*s are not utilised to convey all of the sequential past action in the corpus; frequently a chain of *qatal*s is employed in the same type of settings (see 14.1). Patterson (1962, 313) argues that the authors often employ the *wayyiqtol* intentionally in order to convey semantic notions such as agitated or frenzied action and inferior speech; however, the majority of attestations, including (2) and (4), do not seem to support either of these interpretations. While it is possible that the authors chose to employ the *wayyiqtol* only when they desired expressly to highlight the sequential nature of a given group of actions, comparison of *wayyiqtol* sequences with their unconverted counterparts suggests that the choice of one or the other is not systematic in this respect; moreover, in many cases *wayyiqtol*s appear in contexts that do not seem to contain an element of consecutiveness. (4) illustrates this phenomenon. Similarly, *wayyiqtol*s appear in both dialogue, as in (1), and in narrative, as in (2)-(4); thus their selection does not seem to designate either colloquial or literary speech. Rather, their use may be syntactically motivated: *wayyiqtol*s are most commonly employed at the end of a sentence following a sequence of *qatal*s in contexts indicating that the *waw*-consecutive introducing them should be interpreted as the conjunction 'and'. This suggests that while the maskilic authors were often more inclined to present narrative sequences with *qatal*s, on occasions demanding the use of the conjunction 'and', the use of the initial *waw* triggered an association in their minds with the *wayyiqtol* and thereby led to their more frequent selection of this construction in such cases.

(1)

"[...] האותך צררתי, הכלמתי ואגרשך מביתי [...]"

'[...] was it you that I harassed, shamed and drove from my house [...]' (Mapu 1857-69, 224)

(2)

שפרה ישבה ותשמע ותדום

Shifrah sat and listened and was silent (Smolenskin 1872, 242)

(3)

ויתפשט אלפסי את מעילו ויתנפל על ערש יצונו

And Alfasi took off his coat and fell onto his bed (Brandstädter 1875, 660)

(4)

וכל העם כבדוהו ויוקירוהו

And all the people respected him and honoured him (Gordon 1872, 27)

In Biblical Hebrew the main role of the *wayyiqtol* is to indicate sequential past actions in narrative contexts (Niccacci 1990, 20, 37; Van der Merwe 2002, 143). Such sequences generally begin with a *wayyiqtol*, as in (5), though they can alternatively have an initial *qatal*, as in (6). As Niccacci (1990, 35-6) argues, *qatals* at the beginning of narrative sequences serve only to provide anterior information. Thus, although the biblical and maskilic *wayyiqtol*s correspond formally and it is clear that the authors of the present corpus adopted the construction in emulation of biblical narrative style, the corpora differ in two key ways. Firstly, the biblical *qatal* does not serve to introduce a *wayyiqtol* sequence whereas its maskilic counterpart does so regularly. Secondly, the Hebrew Bible is much more consistent in its use of *wayyiqtol*, employing it in most narrative settings; by contrast, the maskilic text uses it only intermittently in these contexts and typically inserts it only at the end of a sequence of past-tense actions. The reason for this may be that although the maskilic authors consciously desired to imitate biblical narrative, it was difficult or unnatural for them to use *wayyiqtol* consistently.

(5)

וַיָּבֹאוּ שְׁנֵי הַמְּלָאכִים קֹדֶמָה בְּעָרְבַּ וְלֹט יֹשֵׁב בְּשַׁעַר קֹדֶם וַיֵּרָא לֹט וַיָּקָם לִקְרֹאתָם וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ אֲפִים
אֶרְצָה

The two messengers came to Sodom in the evening when Lot was sitting at the gateway to Sodom, and Lot saw them and stood up to greet them and bowed to the ground (Gen. 19:1)

(6)

הַנָּחָשׁ הִשְׁיָאֵנִי וְאָכַל

The snake tricked me, and so I ate (Gen. 3:13)

Rabbinic and Israeli Hebrew typically employ the *qatal* when conveying sequences of past actions (see 14.1 for examples). These two forms of Hebrew do not possess a narrative verbal form resembling the maskilic *wayyiqtol*.

11.1.4 *Wayyiqtol as pluperfect*

Wayyiqtols occasionally appear in narrative and direct speech contexts following a *qatal*, with both forms designating events that were already in a state of completion prior to the actions of the main storyline. Such *wayyiqtols* in this type of context can be translated with English pluperfects. It is possible that the authors employed the *wayyiqtol* in these cases because, although it and the preceding *qatal* both provide anterior information, together they form a parenthetical mini-narrative sequence of their own. However, it is difficult to pinpoint with certainty the authors' motivations for choosing a *wayyiqtol* in this type of context on any given occasion rather than a *qatal*, because the latter forms appear in the corpus in similar positions (see 7.1.3).

(1)

בְּעֵלֵי הַבָּתִּים נִשְׁאָרוּ בְּלִי מַשְׁרָתִים, כִּי כָל־הַתַּחְתָּנוּ וַיְהִיו לְבַעֲלִים בְּפָנֵי עַצְמָם

The heads of households were left without servants, for they had all got married and become heads of their own households (Dick 1867, 323)

(2)

"[...] אחרי אשר הוציאו את האוצר האצור בתוכו, ויתנו לידי את הכסף והפקודות, יצאו מנאות השקט וירכבו על סוסיהם ויעלמו."

'[...] and after they had taken out the treasure stored inside it and given me the money and the orders, they left the quiet place and rode off on their horses and disappeared' (Smolenskin 1867, 9)

The primary function of the *wayyiqtol* in Biblical Hebrew is to indicate 'mainline' narrative actions (Dawson 1994, 62); anterior information is typically conveyed using *qatal*s and *yiqtol*s (Niccacci 1990, 20, 37; Van der Merwe 2002, 143). However, on occasion the construction does appear to serve to provide background details (Waltke and O'Connor 1990, 552-3, 556). This biblical usage resembles that found in the maskilic corpus, although in the Hebrew Bible the *wayyiqtol*s in question can appear either after a *qatal* or alone, as in (3) and (4) respectively, whereas in maskilic literature they always follow a *qatal*. This syntactic difference between the two types of Hebrew adds weight to the argument that the authors of the present corpus employ the *wayyiqtol* with anterior meaning only when it forms part of a background mini-narrative. This constitutes a further example of the maskilic authors taking a biblical structure and utilising it in slightly different syntactic settings from those of their model.

(3)

וְרַחֵל לָקְחָה אֶת הַתְּרָפִים וַתִּשְׁמֶם בְּכֵר הַגָּמֶל וַתֵּשֶׁב עֲלֵיהֶם

Now Rachel had taken the idols and had put them in the camel's saddle and had sat upon them (Gen. 31:34)

(4)

וַיִּדְבֹּר אֲלֵהֶם אֲבִיהֶם אֵי זֶה הַדֶּרֶךְ הָלַךְ וַיֵּרְאוּ בְנָיו אֶת הַדֶּרֶךְ אֲשֶׁר הָלַךְ אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים

Their father said to them, 'Which way did he go?' His sons had seen the way the man of God had gone (1 Kings 13:12)

Rabbinic and Israeli Hebrew both lack the *wayyiqtol* construction and consistently employ the *qatal* to convey anterior information (see 7.1.3 for examples). Neither type of Hebrew resembles the maskilic corpus regarding this issue.

11.2 *Weqatal*

11.2.1 *Apodosis of real conditions*

While the action in the apodosis of the real (possible) conditions with future reference in the corpus is usually conveyed by a *yiqtol*, on occasion a *weqatal* is attested in the same setting. These *weqatals* discussed in this entry are translatable with the English 'will' + infinitive, which is used in the apodosis of real conditions with future tense value (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 191). The decision to employ a *weqatal* instead of a *yiqtol* in this position appears to be arbitrary.

(1)

"[...] לך מזה, ואם תתמהמה עוד רגע, וְגַלְגַּלְתִּיךָ מִן הַמַּדְרֵגוֹת"

'[...] go away, and if you delay another moment, I'll roll you off the stairs' (Schulman 1857-60, 3:68)

(2)

"אדוני היקר! אם טוב בעיניך ונתתי לך את גדליה."

'Dear Sir! If you like I will give you Gedaliah' (Shulman 1873, 82)

(3)

"[...] אם אגיד לך, מי ומי כתבום, ושוממת ושרקת."

'[...] if I tell you who wrote them, you will whistle in amazement' (Mapu 1857-69, 242)

A Biblical Hebrew apodosis referring to an action expected to take place on the condition that the event indicated in the nearby protasis is

realised can be composed of a *weqatal* (Driver 1892, 174-5; Davidson 1994, 86). In this regard biblical usage resembles that of the maskilic corpus.

(4)

וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלֶיהָ בָּרַק אִם תֵּלְכִי עִמִּי וְהִלַּכְתִּי

Barak said to her, 'If you go with me I will go' (Judg. 4:8)

Rabbinic and Israeli Hebrew do not possess the *weqatal* and therefore are not comparable with the maskilic corpus in this respect.

11.2.2 Future

Weqatals are sometimes attested in contexts suggesting that their actions refer to a time posterior to that of the moment of utterance. In such cases there is an indication that the speaker is using them to make a prediction or state an intention for the future. These *weqatals* are generally translatable with the English constructions 'will' or 'going to' + infinitive or the present progressive which refer to different types of actions set posterior to the present moment (Swan 1995, 209-16). They usually appear in dialogue, as in (2)-(4), but are occasionally found in narrative, as in (1). *Weqatals* are typically preceded by a *yiqtol* with future, present or command force, as in (1). However, on occasion they serve as the initial verb of the sentence in question; in such cases they are usually introduced by a temporal adverb, as in (2). In addition, they are sometimes found after *wehayah* and a temporal clause; in such instances they seem to denote the action due to take place at or after the time specified by the temporal clause. (3) illustrates such a case. Finally, they are attested following volitionals, as in (4). *Weqatals* are attested only rarely in comparison with *yiqtols* in contexts when the future action concerned represents a logical or temporal continuation of a previous one. This relative infrequency may indicate that the authors chose to use *weqatals* only when they wanted specifically to highlight the sequential character of certain future actions, in contrast to the many instances when they did not consider this aspect important. However, this proposal is unconvincing as some of the *weqatals*,

such as that in (2), do not appear to contain such a sequential element. Instead, it is more likely that the authors were subconsciously disposed towards using *yiqtol*s to express sequential future actions rather than *weqatal*s. This possibility is further discussed in the comparison with Rabbinic Hebrew below.

(1)

"[...] נסלח לכם והייתם כמונו [...]"

'[...] we'll forgive you and you'll be like us [...]' (Braudes 1876b, 406)

(2)

עוד מעט ופתחו האזיקים אשר שמה עלי השבת ומהרתי לחבק אשתי ובנותי

Soon the shackles that the Sabbath has imposed on me will open and I will hurry to embrace my wife and daughters (Gordon 1874b, 15)

(3)

"[...] והיה כי יקחנה, ולקח גם את הונה [...]"

'[...] and when he takes her, he will take her fortune as well [...]' (Mapu 1857-69, 431)

(4)

"חכי נא מעט מזער ונתתי לך גם נר להדליק בערב."

'Please wait a little and I will give you a candle to light in the evening as well' (Berman 1861, 270)

A large percentage of Biblical Hebrew *weqatal*s appear in future tense settings (Furuli 2006, 408). The biblical *weqatal* with future force is found as the initial verb of the clause, as in (5), as well as following initial *yiqtol*s, temporal clauses, and volitionals, as illustrated in (6), (7), and (8) in turn. This biblical usage resembles that of the maskilic corpus. However, *weqatal*s appear much more frequently in the Hebrew Bible than in maskilic literature; this divergence indicates that the maskilic authors did not regard the construction as an essential part of their linguistic repertoire but rather an occasional cosmetic embellishment designed to give their texts a biblical character.

(5)

עוד מעט ופקדתי את דמי יזרעאל

Soon I shall punish the House of Jehu for the blood of Jezreel (Hosea 1:4)

(6)

אהיה עמך וחבית את מדין

I shall be with you, and you will strike Midian (Judg. 6:16)

(7)

והיה בקרבכם אל המלחמה ונש הכהן וידבר אל העם

And when you are about to go to battle, the priest will come forward and address the people (Deut. 20:2)

(8)

שמע בקולם והמלכת להם מלך

Listen to them and appoint a king over them (1 Sam. 8:22)

Rabbinic Hebrew does not employ the *waw*-consecutive and thus the rabbinic writings contain no parallels to the cases found in the maskilic corpus. This type of Hebrew generally uses the *yiqtol* or *qotel* to indicate future predictions or intentions, as in (9) and (10) respectively. The rabbinic equivalent of the maskilic *weqatal* following a temporal clause comprises the temporal conjunction followed by a *yiqtol* or *qotel*, as in (11). The maskilic authors' tendency to employ the *weqatal* only infrequently may be attributable to the lack of such a construction in Rabbinic Hebrew.

(9)

אלך לביתי ואוכל קימעה ואשתה קימעה ואישן קימעה

I will go home and eat a bit, and drink a bit and sleep a bit (Babylonian Talmud *Berakhot* 4b)

(10)

אילו היית יודע שלמחר אומרים עליך כך היא ווסתו של פלוני

If you knew that tomorrow people will say about you, 'This is so-and-so's habit' (Mishnah *Nedarim* 9:9)

(11)

לכשתבא אצלי אזונה

When she comes to me I shall feed her (Mishnah *Ketubbot* 12:1)

Israeli Hebrew resembles that of the Mishnah and Talmud as it does not employ the *wayyiqtol* or *weqatal*. Instead, it generally uses *yiqtol*s in all of the contexts discussed above. This is most likely due to the fact that the *yiqtol* is used chiefly in future and modal contexts in modern-day Hebrew, and verbs conveying predictions and intentions all come under this category whether they follow on from another verb or stand alone. In addition, the *qotel* can be used in contexts indicating a future intention. (12)-(14) illustrate these possibilities: (12) contains a *yiqtol* conveying a future intention following a temporal clause, while (13) exhibits a *qotel* denoting a future intention and (14) contains a *yiqtol* with the force of a future prediction introduced by a previous *yiqtol*.

(12)

ארד כשהוא יעלה

I'll get off when he gets on (Glinert 1989, 129)

(13)

שובתים מחר

They're striking tomorrow (Glinert 1989, 122)

(14)

הוא יזכור מה שלמד, יכתוב בבחינה מה שהמורה אמר

He will remember what he has studied [and] write down in the exam what the teacher has said (Chayat, Israeli, and Kobliner 2001, 111)

11.2.3 *Second/third person command*

Weqatals are attested in direct speech portions of the corpus in contexts indicating that the speaker is commanding the listener or a third party to perform the actions to which they refer. They can be equated with the English imperative and 'let' construction, which are used to relay second and third person commands respectively (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 925, 929-30, 936-7). These *weqatals* typically continue a sequence of commands initiated by a preceding imperative or jussive. The *weqatal* is used to render commands far less commonly than the *yiqtol* and imperative. This is in keeping with the general maskilic tendency to employ the *weqatal* only infrequently. The use of the *weqatal* in third person command contexts, as in (3), is extremely rare. The authors' decision to select a *weqatal* instead of a *yiqtol* or imperative on any given instance appears to be arbitrary and the form does not seem to be associated with any specific semantic overtones. It can refer to an action that is temporally posterior to that of the initial volitive, as in (1), or one taking place concurrently, as in (2) and (3).

(1)

"[...] אדון! אדון! קום והיית כפרה לכל ישראל! [...]"

'[...] Sir! Sir! Come and do penance for all of the sins of the Jews! [...]'

(Shulman 1873, 100)

(2)

"[...] אל תשכח את אשר עָכַרְנִי גַעַל, וְעֲשֵׂיתָ לוֹ נִקְמוֹת [...]"

'[...] don't forget that Ga'al ruined me, and take revenge upon him [...]'

(Mapu 1857-69, 216)

(3)

"יהי אלהים עִמָּךְ" קראו בני הבית "וּשְׁמֹרְךָ בְּדֶרֶךְ אֲשֶׁר אַתָּה הוֹלֵךְ"

'May God be with you,' called the members of the household, 'and may He protect you on your way' (Fuenn 1872, 602)

The *weqatal* is frequently employed in Biblical Hebrew to convey a second person command following an imperative (Driver 1892, 125), as in (4). It can additionally convey a third person command following a jussive (Gesenius 1910, 333), as in (6). According to Waltke and O'Connor (1990, 529-30), this construction is used following an imperative specifically in order to convey the notion of a consecutive link between the two commands; when there is no such link present, the second command is instead conveyed with another imperative. (4) and (5) illustrate this point: in (4), the action of the *weqatal* can logically take place only after that of the preceding imperative comes to pass; by contrast, in (5) the two imperatives convey actions that may occur at the same time. Thus in this respect the maskilic and biblical corpora overlap superficially as both employ the *weqatal* in order to convey one command following on from a previous one. However, the resemblance is only partial for two reasons. Firstly, in Biblical Hebrew the *weqatal* is commonly found in this position, whereas in the maskilic corpus it appears only sporadically. Secondly, biblical language makes a semantic distinction between *weqatal* and imperative forms following an initial imperative, with *weqatals* serving to indicate consecution; by contrast, maskilic literature uses both forms interchangeably. These factors indicate that, as in other areas, the maskilic authors employed the *weqatal* occasionally in order to lend a biblical flavour to their writing but did not use it systematically or take into account the semantic gradations that govern the use of the biblical construction.

(4)

לך ואמרת אל עבדי אֶל דָּוִד

Go and tell my servant David (2 Sam. 7:5)

(5)

הִתְיַצְבוּ וּרְאוּ אֶת יְשׁוּעַת יְהוָה

Stand and see the Lord's deliverance (Exod. 14:13)

(6)

יְהִי מֵאֵרֶת בְּרָקִיעַ הַשָּׁמַיִם לְהַבְדִּיל בֵּין הַיּוֹם וּבֵין הַלַּיְלָה וְיִהְיוּ לְאֹתוֹת

Let there be lights in the heavens to separate the day from the night, and let them be signs (Gen. 1:14)

Rabbinic and Israeli Hebrew cannot be compared with the maskilic corpus in this regard as they do not employ the converted forms. Rabbinic Hebrew typically conveys commands with the *yiqtol* or *qotel*, while Israeli Hebrew generally uses the *yiqtol* or the imperative (see 8.6.1).

12 VOLITIVES

12.1 *Cohortative*12.1.1 *Gnomic present*

Some of the singular cohortative forms in the corpus from roots with stative force appear in direct speech contexts indicating that they refer to states which are valid generally as well as at the precise moment of utterance. These cohortatives can be translated with the English present tense. In these cases there does not appear to be a clear reason for the selection of the cohortative as opposed to the *qatal*, *yiqtol*, and *qotel*, which are more frequently found in this type of setting (see 7.2.1, 8.2.1, and 9.2.1 for details). It is possible that the maskilic authors employed the cohortative in these instances in order to draw attention to the verb in question, either with the intention of replicating the feel of spoken language by signalling that the stress of the sentence is falling on it, or of indicating a heightened conviction on the part of the speaker with regards to the state concerned.

(1)

"[...] עוד אזכרה כי בהיותי נער קטן הייתי משוטט ברחובות קריה [...]"

'[...] I still remember that when I was a small lad I used to wander the city streets [...]' (Schulman 1857-60, 1:35)

(2)

"אבינה, אדון נעלה."

'I understand, esteemed Sir.' (Brandstädter 1878, 595)

(3)

"[...] דברי נא ותראי כי בכל לבב אחפצה צדקך גם אני [...]"

'[...] please speak, and you will see that I also wholeheartedly wish for your justice [...]' (Leinwand 1875-6, 1:37)

(4)

"[...] את רגלך להציל מדחי לא אוכלה [...]"

‘[...] I can’t save you from misfortune [...]’ (Berman 1861, 296)

While the cohortative is typically used in Biblical Hebrew in order to denote first person commands, suggestions or requests for permission, on occasion it is attested in gnomic present contexts (Waltke and O’Connor 1990, 576). Such a case is shown in (5). In this regard the maskilic authors appear to have based their usage on that found in the Hebrew Bible. Indeed, some of the maskilic forms have exact parallels in the biblical corpus that seem to denote the same type of generally valid state. Comparison of (1) with (5) illustrates such a case. On other occasions the maskilic cohortatives correspond in form but not in meaning to biblical verbs. For example, (2) and (6) both contain a singular cohortative of the same root, but (2) has a gnomic present interpretation whereas (6) has past tense value. Finally, some of the maskilic forms, such as those appearing in (3) and (4), lack biblical precedent altogether. Thus it seems that while the maskilic practice can sometimes be attributed to *shibbus*, in other cases it constitutes a further example of the maskilic authors generating original forms based on a biblical convention.

(5)

אֶזְכֶּרָה בְּלַיְלָה נְגִינָתִי בְּלִילָה

I remember my song at night (Ps. 77:7)

(6)

וַאֲכֹל בְּפִתְתָאִים אֶבְיִנָּה בְּבָנִים וְעַר חֶסֶד לֵב

I saw among the simple, noticed among the youths, a lad devoid of sense (Prov. 7:7)

The cohortative is not employed in the Mishnah (Segal 1927, 72; Haneman 1980, 31). Stative verbs of general validity are typically conveyed using the *qotel* in this form of Hebrew, as shown in (7). In this regard the maskilic authors do not appear to have been influenced by rabbinic usage.

(7)

אוהב את המקום אוהב את הבריות אוהב את הצדקות אוהב את התוכחות

[One who] loves God, loves humankind, loves justice, loves reproof (Mishnah *Avot* 6:6)

In Israeli Hebrew the cohortative can appear in high-register language with the force of a first person command or suggestion (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 41-2), but is not used to denote gnomic present states. In such cases the *qotel* is consistently employed instead, as in (8). In this regard the modern language cannot be equated with the maskilic corpus.

(8)

הוא רוצה לעבוד כאן

He wants to work here (Berman 1978, 140)

12.1.2 *Intended future*

Singular and plural cohortatives in direct speech portions of the corpus are attested in future contexts referring to actions that the speaker or speakers had already decided before the moment of utterance to carry out. Cohortatives in this type of setting differ slightly from those discussed in 12.1.4 as they denote events previously planned rather than spontaneously proposed at the moment of speaking. Their English translation value is typically either 'going to' or 'will' + infinitive. These cohortatives are typically singular and appear in both main and subordinate clauses, as in (1) and (2) respectively. It is not completely clear why the maskilic authors chose cohortatives on these occasions instead of the *yiqtol*, which is more commonly employed in similar circumstances. It is possible that they purposefully selected cohortatives in order to convey a strong element of desire or determination on the part of the speaker to perform the actions in question. This practice seems to resemble closely the maskilic use of the singular cohortative in settings indicating spontaneous proposals made by a speaker to him- or herself (see 12.1.4 for comparison).

(1)

"[...] אמהרה לנסוע העירה [...]"

'[...] I'll hurry to travel to the town [...]' (Fuenn 1872, 602)

(2)

"[...] ואבא להגיד לך, כי אקימה את השבועה שהשבעתני [...]"

'[...] and I have come to tell you that I am going to keep the oath that you made me swear [...]' (Abramowitz 1862, 69)

In Biblical Hebrew the cohortative form is attested denoting an action that the speaker had previously determined to carry out, as in (3). The selection of the cohortative highlights the speaker's personal desire to perform the action (Shulman 1996, 196-7). Cohortatives in this type of context appear only in independent or main clauses (Waltke and O'Connor 1990, 573-6). In this regard maskilic literature resembles, and therefore is most likely rooted in, its biblical antecedent. However, Maskilic Hebrew differs from its biblical model in that it employs the cohortative in subordinate clauses to designate intended future actions. This dissimilarity is indicative of the wider macrosyntactic divergence between Biblical Hebrew, in which clearly designated subordinate clauses are relatively rare (Lambdin 1971, 162), and maskilic fiction, in which such clauses abound.

(3)

שְׁבוּ לָכֶם כֹּה עִם הַחֲמֹר וְאֲנִי וְהַנֶּעֱר וְלָכָה עַד כֹּה וְנִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה

'Stay here with the donkey; the boy and I will go up there and worship' (Gen. 22:5)

Rabbinic and Israeli Hebrew do not employ the cohortative and therefore cannot be compared to the maskilic corpus in this regard. Both of these forms of the language typically use the *yiqtol* in the contexts discussed above (see 8.3 for details).

12.1.3 *Real conditions*

Maskilic cohortatives appear in both the protasis and apodosis of real (possible) conditional sentences. In the protasis they are invariably introduced by אם and denote an action that may take place in the future, while in the apodosis they refer to an event that will come to pass upon fulfilment of the action mentioned in the protasis. (1) and (2) illustrate these two possibilities in turn. These cohortatives are translatable with the English present tense, while those found in the apodosis are usually best rendered with the English future construction 'will' + infinitive. As in other cases involving the cohortative, the authors' motivation for selecting them in these instances is uncertain but may constitute a desire to highlight the speaker's conviction or the importance of the verb in the sentence.

(1)

"[...] אף אם אוסיפה לדבר על לבך לא תצליח בידי להטותך כלבבי [...]"

'[...] even if I continue trying to persuade you, I will not succeed in getting you to agree with me [...]' (Leinwand 1875-6, 1:38)

(2)

"אם לא תרפני כרגע, אסירה את חוטמך מעליך עד היסוד!"

'If you don't let go of me this instant, I'll tear your nose completely off!' (Schulman 1857-60, 1:5)

The Biblical Hebrew cohortative can be used in the protasis and apodosis of conditional sentences (Gesenius 1910, 320; Waltke and O'Connor 1990, 575-6). Biblical asyndetical conditional protases and apodoses containing cohortatives are relatively uncommon and generally restricted to poetic language (Joüon 1993, 2:627-8); cohortatives in syndetic conditional clauses introduced by the particle אם are a 'marginal phenomenon' occurring even more infrequently (Blau 1971, 134), as in (3) and (4). In this regard maskilic usage seems partially to overlap with its biblical predecessor as both types of

Hebrew can use the cohortative in conditional sentences. However, the maskilic practice differs from that of the Hebrew Bible in three significant respects. Firstly, the maskilic cohortative is employed in real conditional protases and apodoses in prose much more frequently than the Hebrew Bible. Secondly, some of the maskilic cohortative forms, including those appearing in (1) and (2) above, are completely unattested in the biblical corpus. Finally, in Biblical Hebrew the use of the cohortative alone is enough to convey a conditional sense, whereas in the maskilic corpus the introductory particle אם must be used as well. The maskilic use of the cohortative in conditional sentences thus appears to constitute a further example of the authors of the corpus taking a biblical phenomenon and adapting it for more widespread use in original settings.

(3)

אם אֶדְבָּרָה לֹא יִחַשֵׁךְ כְּאַבִּי

If I speak, my pain will not be diminished (Job 16:6)

(4)

אם יֵשֶׁךְ מִשְׁלַח אֶת אֶחָיו אֲתָנוּ נֵרְדָה וְנִשְׁבְּרָה לְךָ אֶכֶל

If you will let our brother go with us, we will go down and obtain food for you (Gen. 43:4)

Rabbinic and Israeli Hebrew typically employ the *yiqtol* in both the protasis and apodosis of real conditional sentences (see 8.5 and 8.5.4). In this regard these two types of Hebrew are not comparable with that of maskilic fiction.

12.1.4 Suggestion

The cohortatives in the corpus are most commonly found in contexts indicating that they indicate suggestions directed towards the speakers. Singular cohortatives, such as those shown in (1) and (2), usually indicate an impulsive proposal made by the speaker to him- or herself. Such forms are

translatable with the English construction 'I'll' or 'I'm going to' + infinitive. Such forms closely resemble the *yiqtol*s denoting spontaneous decisions discussed in 8.3.2, and in most cases it is difficult to discern the authors' reason for employing one form rather than the other on any given instance. It is possible that the selection of the cohortative instead of the *yiqtol* serves to indicate a heightened measure of internal resolve on the part of the speaker to carry out the action concerned. Plural cohortatives, as shown in (4), (5), and (6), usually denote requests or propositions issued by speakers to themselves and their addressees. The English equivalent of these forms is the construction 'let us/let's' followed by an infinitive. Such plural cohortatives are occasionally preceded by a singular or plural imperative of the roots א.נ.ב, as in (5), or ה.ל.ך or the interjection הנה, as in (6). These forms appear to serve to reinforce the suggestive nature of the cohortative in question. Plural cohortatives are only infrequently followed by the precative particle ׀, which in such cases appears to function as a politeness marker (see 18.1.1 for a more detailed examination of the role of ׀ in Maskilic Hebrew fiction). (3) illustrates this practice. The plural cohortative, like its singular counterpart, usually seems to carry the same force as *yiqtol*s found in similar contexts, and its selection in certain cases appears to be unsystematic. However, the utilisation of the cohortative instead of the *yiqtol* may indicate a desire on the part of the authors to draw extra attention to the fact that the verb in question denotes a command or suggestion.

(1)

אספה עוד שקלים אחדים על האובדים ההמה ואסע לביתי

I'll just collect some more money to recoup my losses, and go home (Gordon 1874b, 3)

(2)

"אחושה ואלכה לדרכי שלום"

'I'll just hurry and go on my way now' (Berman 1861, 332)

(3)

נעזבה נא את העיר כסלון ונלכה יחד אל מקום אחר

Let's leave the town of Kesalon and go to another place (Abramowitz 1862, 41)

(4)

"אך נחדל מהשתומם ולשית יגון בלבבנו, נשובה לשמוע דברי המלמד [...]"

'But let's stop worrying and upsetting ourselves; let's go back to listening to the teacher speak [...]' (Shulman 1873, 91)

(5)

"[...] בוא נסעה יחד לביתי [...]"

'[...] come, let's go to my house together [...]' (Braudes 1873, 35)

(6)

"[...] הבה נלכה יחדיו"

'[...] come, let's go together' (Frischmann 1878, 159)

Biblical Hebrew frequently employs the cohortative in a variety of first person command contexts. Singular forms often denote an element of intention, whereas plurals frequently convey 'mutual encouragement' (Joüon 1993, 1:82). While *yiqtol*s may be used in apparently similar contexts, Gesenius (1910, 319), Waltke and O'Connor (1990, 509), and Shulman (1996, 196-7) argue that in such cases the two verbal forms play slightly different semantic roles: use of the *yiqtol* serves to draw attention to the fact that a given event is to take place, whereas the selection of the cohortative highlights the speaker's feelings of involvement and care with respect to it. In addition, biblical cohortatives may indicate a 'request for permission' on the part of the speaker or speakers to perform the action in question (Gesenius 1910, 320), as in (9). The biblical and maskilic corpora overlap in their use of the cohortative to signal resolve and encouragement; however, the maskilic cohortative differs from its biblical counterpart in that it is not used in order to signal an entreaty. Moreover, the maskilic authors employ the cohortative less frequently than the Hebrew Bible and their occasional selection of this form instead of the

yiqtol does not seem clearly to have been motivated by the desire to stress the speaker's personal attachment to the action. This suggests that the maskilic authors based their use of the cohortative on the biblical model, but did not replicate its frequency and were most likely unaware of or indifferent to its precise semantic force. In this regard they may have been influenced by post-Biblical Hebrew.

(7)

וַיֹּאמֶר מֹשֶׁה אֶסְרָה נָא וְאַרְאֶה אֶת הַמַּרְאֶה הַגָּדֹל הַזֶּה

Moses said, 'Let me turn aside so that I may see this great sight' (Exod. 7:7)

(8)

וְלָכֶה דֹּתָן

'Let's go to Dothan' (Gen. 37:17)

(9)

אֶעֱבֹרָה בְּאַרְצְךָ בְּדֶרֶךְ בְּדֶרֶךְ אֲלֶךְ לֹא אֶסּוּר יָמִין וּשְׂמֹאל

Let me pass through your land. I will go only on the highway, and turn neither to the right nor to the left (Deut. 2:27)

Rabbinic Hebrew does not possess the cohortative form (Sharvit 2004, 48-9); it consistently employs the *yiqtol* to convey first person commands. In singular contexts the form denotes the speaker's desire or resolve to carry out the deed concerned, and in plural settings it indicates the subject's attempt to encourage his addressees towards a given course of action (Azar 1995, 8). Thus rabbinic literature did not directly contribute to the maskilic phenomenon under discussion. However, maskilic authors' relatively infrequent use of the cohortative may be a sign of post-biblical tendencies in their writing. Moreover, the fact that the maskilic authors deviate from biblical convention by avoiding using the cohortative to denote requests for permission may indicate that, although they adopted the biblical form, they

employed it only in the same first person command contexts in which the rabbinic *yiqtol* appears.

(10)

אלך ואשתחוה

'Let me go and bow down to it' (Mishnah *Sanhedrin* 7:10)

(11)

נלך ונעבד ע"ז

'Let's go and worship idols' (Mishnah *Sanhedrin* 7:10)

Israeli Hebrew does not usually employ the cohortative; it typically conveys first person singular and plural commands with the *yiqtol* conjugation preceded by בוא or ש- in colloquial settings and introduced by הבה or followed by נ in formal ones (Glinert 1989, 289). These conventions are shown in (12)-(15). Although Coffin and Bolozky (2005, 41-2) state that the cohortative preceded by הבה can be used for first person plural commands in the literary register, this is valid only with regard to early Israeli Hebrew; in current formal language the form is practically nonexistent. In this respect present-day Hebrew resembles the maskilic corpus to a certain degree, as both customarily employ the *yiqtol* to convey first person commands but occasionally use the cohortative. However, maskilic fiction differs from Israeli Hebrew in two ways: firstly, its use of cohortative commands is much less restricted; secondly, it does not regularly use such forms in conjunction with הבה or נ. Thus any possible maskilic contribution to contemporary usage in this respect is negligible.

(12)

שאני אתן לך

Let me give you (Glinert 1989, 289)

(13)

בוא נחשוב רגע

Let's think for a moment (Glinert 1989, 289)

(14)

הבה נלך

Let's go (Glinert 1989, 289)

(15)

נזכור נא זאת

Please let us bear this in mind (Glinert 1989, 289)

(16)

הבה נגילה ונשמחה

Let us rejoice and be happy (1918 song cited in Bolozky and Coffin 2005, 42)

12.2 Imperative

12.2.1 Command/suggestion

All of the imperatives in the corpus are used to convey positive direct commands of some sort; however, their precise force varies considerably according to the context. Sometimes they constitute urgent specific orders, while on other occasions they denote non-urgent requests, durative injunctions, or polite suggestions. These variations are illustrated in (1)-(4) respectively. While the imperative is the form most commonly employed in the corpus to denote commands and polite suggestions, *yiqtol*s are occasionally attested in similar settings (see 8.6.1) and there does not seem to be any clear reason for selecting one form over the other on any given occasion.

(1)

"לך שכב! שכב על משכבך היום!"

'Go lie down! Lie down on your bed and be quiet!' (Schulman 1857-60, 2:158)

(2)

"[...] ספר לי עובדיה דברי אביך [...]"

'[...] tell me, Obadiah, what your father said [...]' (Bamstein 1861, 341)

(3)

"[...] אך הזהירו בבני עניים [...]"

'[...] but watch out for the children of the poor [...]' (Mapu 1857-69, 239)

(4)

"[...] בטח בי, אדוני היקר [...]"

'[...] trust me, my dear Sir [...]' (Shulman 1873, 81)

In Biblical Hebrew the imperative form typically serves to denote positive direct commands. However, it is additionally used to convey a wide range of functions such as forming requests and wishes, giving permission (Van der Merwe, Naudé, and Kroeze 1999, 151), and making predictions or promises (Waltke and O'Connor 1990, 572). These shades of meaning are shown in the examples below: (5) contains a command, (6) a polite request, (7) granting of permission, (8) a wish, and (9) a promise. While biblical and maskilic writing employ the imperative to convey commands and requests, the Hebrew Bible uses the form in a wider variety of other contexts; this difference may indicate that the authors of the present corpus either were unaware of or did not choose to take full advantage of the range of meaning attached to biblical imperatives.

(5)

זָכֹר אֶל תְּשֻׁכָּח

Remember, do not forget (Deut. 9:7)

(6)

תְּבַיֶּטָה עֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי תַאֲיִיחָה עֵינֵי

Look, and answer me, O Lord my God, brighten my eyes (Ps. 13:4)

(7)

וַיְהִי מָה אֶרְוֹץ וַיֵּאמֶר לוֹ רֹדֵף

'Come what may, I want to run.' So he said, 'Run' (2 Sam. 18:23)

(8)

וַיְבָרְכוּ אֶת רֵכָה וַיֹּאמְרוּ לָהּ אַחֲתֶנּוּ אֶת הָיָי לְאַלְפֵי רֶבֶבָה

They blessed Rebecca and said to her, 'O sister, may you become great myriads' (Gen. 24:60)

(9)

מִטָּה עֲנֵךְ יִשְׁלַח יְהוָה מִצִּיּוֹן בִּקְשָׁב אֲיָבֶיךָ

The Lord will extend your powerful sceptre from Zion; rule among your enemies (Ps. 110:2)

The imperative in Rabbinic Hebrew is used predominantly to give orders to 'specific individuals' rather than in prayers or legal instructions and even then is not widely employed, with the exception of the mishnaic tractate *Avot*, in which it is attested more frequently (Pérez Fernández 1999, 152). The tractate *Avot* differs in general from the rest of the Mishnah in that it exhibits a higher concentration of biblical elements (Kutscher 1982, 141-2). However, even in *Avot*, the form serves only to relay commands and is not attested in the context of polite requests, wishes or suggestions. In this respect rabbinic usage differs from that of the maskilic corpus as well as Biblical Hebrew.

(10)

שַׁמַּי אָמַר עֲשֵׂה תוֹרַתְךָ קֶבַע אֲמֹר מַעַט וַעֲשֵׂה הַרְבֵּה

Shammai said, 'Make your [study of the] Law a regular habit, say little and do much' (Mishnah *Avot* 1:15)

Israeli Hebrew can employ the imperative to convey commands and requests, in the latter case often followed by בִּקְשָׁה (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 44). (11) contains an imperative denoting a command, while (12) illustrates an imperative in conjunction with בִּקְשָׁה indicating a polite request. With the exception of a few specific roots this form is generally restricted to high-

register language (Glinert 2005, 39); moreover, Tobin (1990: 476) argues that it is employed principally when immediate compliance is anticipated, for example in written instructions, road signs, and army orders. While the frequency of imperative use in Israeli Hebrew is much less than that of the present corpus, these two types of Hebrew correspond to a considerable degree in that they utilise the form for both orders and polite requests. Conversely, if Tobin's analysis is correct, they differ in that the maskilic imperative is frequently used for suggestions lacking an expectation of immediate obedience.

(11)

שב בשקט!

Sit quietly! (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 44)

(12)

היכנסו בבקשה!

Come in, please! (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 44)

12.3 *Jussive*

12.3.1 *Third person command*

The only jussives with third person command force appearing in the corpus are the lexicalised 3ms forms of the roots ה.י.ה. and ח.י.ה.. Even these forms are attested only infrequently, particularly יחי, which is largely restricted to Schulman's work. They are generally limited to blessing formulas, as in (1). The forms from the root ה.י.ה. are translatable with the English construction 'let him/it be', while those from the root ח.י.ה. can be rendered with the expression 'long live' followed by the subject.

(1)

"[...] יהי לאל ידי להביאך אמי יקירתי פאריזה [...]"

'[...] may it be possible for me to bring you to Paris, my dear mother [...]'

(Nisselowitz 1875, 88)

(2)

”יחי האגרוף!”

‘Long live the fist!’ (Schulman 1857-60, 2:6)

In Biblical Hebrew the jussive is frequently employed to denote third person commands with *qal* verbs of the hollow and *lamed he* root classes as well as with roots in the *hif'il* stem (Joüon 1993, 1:138-9). The examples below illustrate this phenomenon: (3) contains a jussive form from a *qal lamed he* roots, while (4) has one from a *qal* hollow root and (5) has a *hif'il*. The two roots appearing as jussives in the maskilic corpus are frequently employed in similar contexts in the Hebrew Bible, and therefore the authors are likely to have based their usage on biblical precedent. However, the maskilic avoidance of the jussive in all other cases contrasts with biblical usage. This almost complete avoidance of the jussive form in third person command settings is all the more noteworthy because the maskilic authors habitually employed the form in indicative contexts (see 2.1). The maskilic tendency not to employ the jussive except in the most formulaic of settings may be attributable to influence from post-Biblical Hebrew.

(3)

וְעַתָּה יַעַשׂ יְהוָה עִמָּכֶם חֶסֶד

And now, may the Lord deal mercifully with you (2 Sam. 2:6)

(4)

לֵךְ וּשֹׁב לְבֵיתוֹ

Let him go and return to his house (Deut. 20:5)

(5)

יִסַּף יְהוָה לִּי בֶן אֲחֵר

May the Lord grant me another son (Gen. 30:24)

In Rabbinic Hebrew the jussive form has largely fallen out of use, with the exception of a few *hif'il* and *qal lamed he* forms (Segal 1927, 72) which generally have second person command force. (6) and (7) illustrate this practice. The root ה.י.ה. is among those most frequently appearing as a jussive and the only one with a third person volitive sense. It appears most commonly in proverbs and liturgical settings such as the mishnaic tractate *Avot*, probably under biblical influence (Pérez Fernández 1999, 122-3). Such a case appears in (8). This rabbinic phenomenon clearly parallels that found in the maskilic corpus, as both tend to avoid using the jussive as a third person volitive except in set contexts, typically involving the root ה.י.ה. This suggests that the maskilic authors may have been influenced by the language of the Mishnah to some extent in this regard.

(6)

אל תפרוש מן הצבור ואל תאמן בעצמך

Do not separate yourself from the community and do not believe in yourself
(Mishnah *Avot* 2:4)

(7)

אל תעש עצמך כעורכי חדיינין

Do not make yourself one of the advocates (Mishnah *Avot* 1:8)

(8)

יהי ממון חברך חביב עליך כשלך

May your neighbour's property be as dear to you as your own (Mishnah *Avot* 2:12)

The jussive is not utilised in Israeli Hebrew except in formal settings, particularly written language (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 40). Even in these circumstances it is employed only rarely, in set formulas involving the roots ה.י.ה. and ח.י.ה. (S. Bolozky, personal communication). These are illustrated in (9) and (10) in turn. In this respect Israeli Hebrew resembles the maskilic corpus as well as rabbinic literature. This similarity may indicate a chain of

usage that the maskilic authors inherited from the Mishnah and associated literature and then transferred into the modern language.

(9)

"[...] יהי חלקנו עם מוכרי הדגים בשוק [...]"

'[...] may we throw our lot in with the fish sellers in the market [...]' (Boker 2007)

(10)

יחי נשיא המדינה!

Long live the president! (Reich 2007)

13 INFINITIVES

13.1 *Infinitive absolute*13.1.1 *Before finite verb of same root*

The infinitive absolute is sometimes attested in the corpus preceding a finite verb of the same root. This type of construction is typically found in direct speech, although it appears occasionally in narrative. The authors' motivation for placing an infinitive absolute before a finite verb of the same root in any given instance is not completely clear. However, in most cases it is possible to interpret the infinitive as a marker serving to draw attention to the finite verb and stress that its action is the most important component of the sentence in question. (1) and (2) illustrate this practice in direct speech and narrative respectively. The utilisation of an infinitive absolute in dialogue may represent an attempt to mimic the rising intonation employed in vernacular conversation to highlight a particular word. This technique resembles the seemingly intentional employment of other verbal features in dialogue discussed elsewhere in this study. It is noteworthy that most of the maskilic infinitives absolute appearing in this type of context have precise counterparts in the Hebrew Bible; thus it is possible that the authors sometimes chose to employ an infinitive absolute randomly in this type of setting merely in order to lend a biblical feel to their writing, without an explicit desire to draw attention to the importance of the action concerned. Hence, the translation value of infinitives absolute varies depending on the particular interpretation of the context in which each form is found. If the infinitive absolute serves to highlight the action of the following finite verb, it can sometimes be rendered into English with the adverbs 'really' or 'indeed', or more frequently merely by placing the finite verb in italics. By contrast, if the infinitive absolute is employed solely in order to evoke the feeling of the Hebrew Bible, it is best left untranslated.

(1)

בהחדר הזה בא קארל [...] חלץ חלץ רומה

Into the room came Karl [...] he was walking with his head held high (Smolenskin 1867, 16)

(2)

"[...] נכסוף נכספתי ללמוד כְּתוּב וּקְרוֹא [...]"

'[...] I *longed* to learn to read and write [...]' (Schulman 1857-60, 1:87)

The infinitive absolute is frequently found preceding a finite form of the same root in Biblical Hebrew dialogue. It is attested only rarely in narrative (Davidson 1994, 123). In such cases the primary role of the infinitive is the indication of intensification of some sort (Gesenius 1910, 342; Williams 1976, 37-8; Waltke and O'Connor 1990, 584). This is typically an element of certainty, confirmation or negation (Zohori 1990, 79). (3) exemplifies an infinitive denoting heightened intensity in a positive context, while (4) illustrates one in a negative setting. In other contexts the intensifying effect of the infinitive may be slightly different: for example, in questions it may lend a heightened element of incredulity and in irrealis it may elevate the counterfactual nature of the statement (Waltke and O'Connor 1990, 587). (5) and (6) illustrate such cases in turn. While it is unclear whether the maskilic authors consciously intended their infinitives absolute to denote all of these shades of meaning, the two forms of Hebrew appear to mirror each other in that they both most likely employ the form for the same primary semantic reason, namely to convey the intensification of a given action. Moreover, all of these maskilic infinitives absolute have parallels in the biblical corpus. Comparison of the maskilic examples above with the biblical excerpts below illustrates this similarity. Furthermore, the maskilic phenomenon mirrors that of its biblical model in its tendency to employ this type of infinitive construct in dialogue rather than narrative. The strong resemblance between the maskilic and biblical corpora in this regard indicates that the authors of the present corpus most likely intentionally based this use of infinitives absolute on that of Biblical Hebrew.

(3)

וַעֲתָה חֵלֶךְ הִלַּכְתָּ כִּי נָכַסְוּ נִכְסֶיךָ לְבֵית אָבִיךָ

And now you have left because you were longing greatly for your father's house (Gen. 31:30)

(4)

וַיְהִי כִּי חִזְקוּ בְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיִּתְּנוּ אֶת הַקְּנָעָנִי לְמַסּוֹ (וְהוֹרֵשׁ לֹא הוֹרִישׁוּ)

When the Israelites grew stronger they imposed force labour on the Canaanites, but they did not dispossess them (Josh. 17:13)

(5)

הֵיכִיזוּעַ נָדַע כִּי יֹאמַר הוֹרִידוּ אֶת אֲחִיכֶם

How could we possibly have known that he would say, 'Bring your brother down'? (Gen. 43:7)

(6)

וְאִבִּיהָ יִרְקַּח בְּפָנֶיהָ הֲלֹא תִכְלַם שְׂבָעַת יָמִים

If her father spat in her face, would she not be ashamed for seven days? (Num. 12:14)

(7)

שׂוֹשׁ אֲשִׁישׁ בִּיהוָה תִּגְלַל נַפְשִׁי בְּאֱלֹהֵי

I rejoice greatly in the Lord; my soul exults in my God (Isa. 61:10)

The infinitive absolute is not a typical feature of Rabbinic Hebrew; however, it is attested on four occasions in the Babylonian and Palestinian Talmud, two of which parallel biblical phrases (Zohori 1990, 132-3). The amoraic construction in (8) appears to be based on the corresponding phrase in (7). The semantic function of these infinitives is unclear, but given their biblicising nature it seems probable either that they follow biblical precedent by heightening the importance of the actions that they precede, or that they are merely archaisms with no real meaning of their own. Maskilic and Rabbinic Hebrew correspond in this regard in that the use of the infinitive

absolute preceding a finite verb of the same root appears to be a biblicalising element in both forms of the language. However, maskilic practice differs from that of rabbinic literature as the rabbinic infinitive absolute is an extremely marginal phenomenon, whereas in the corpus under examination it is a frequently employed device.

(8)

שׁוּשׁ תְּשִׁישׁ וְתִגַּל הַעֲקָרָה

May the barren woman rejoice and be merry (Babylonian Talmud *Ketubbot* 8a)

Israeli Hebrew sometimes employs the infinitive absolute preceding a finite verb of the same root in order to reinforce the action of the finite verb (Schwarzwald 1988-9, 109-10), as in (9). In Israeli Hebrew this usage is less common than that of two infinitives absolute following a finite verb (Schwarzwald 1988-9, 109); see 13.1.2 for details of the latter usage. In this respect present-day Hebrew and that of maskilic fiction correspond, though the construction found in the maskilic corpus is a much more common feature of the language than its modern counterpart.

(9)

הִזְכַּרְתָּ הַזֶּה

You have indeed been warned (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 45)

13.1.2 *Two successive infinitives absolute of different roots*

The corpus contains many instances of two infinitives absolute of different roots in succession. Such forms are usually found immediately following a finite verb, as in (1). However, occasionally there is a distance of several words separating the finite verb from the infinitives; (2) illustrates this possibility. The infinitives absolute never precede a finite verb. In most cases the associated finite verb is of the same root as one of the two infinitives absolute; this tendency is exhibited in (1) and (2). Occasionally the finite verb is of a different root than either of the infinitives absolute, as in (3). These

infinitives seem to function as set phrases wherein each root denotes a different or contrary action. Together the phrases serve as complements to the preceding finite verb, giving additional information as to the manner in which its action is carried out. In many cases it appears that the actions of the two infinitives are taking place simultaneously. The roots found in this type of construction typically designate some sort of movement. Moreover, in the majority of cases the root of the finite verb and first infinitive absolute is **הלך**, which serves to denote continuity or repetition when used in conjunction with other verbs. In most cases, such as those shown in (1)-(3), this movement is physical; however, in a few cases, such as that appearing in (5), it is metaphorical. In some instances the infinitives absolute convey neither movement nor simultaneity, but rather denote the result of the action of the finite verb. The second infinitive absolute in (4) is an example of this possibility. The vast majority of these infinitive absolute constructions have exact parallels in the Hebrew Bible. However, at least one case, shown in (5), appears to be an original maskilic creation. The translation value of this type of infinitive absolute construction varies depending on the precise roots used. Infinitive absolute phrases involving movement can often be equated with an English expression such as 'back and forth', as in the translation of (1). Frequently the first infinitive absolute is best left untranslated, while the second can be rendered into English with a present participle; (2) constitutes such a case. In some cases, such as (3), the two infinitives can be translated with English finite verbs.

(1)

ידענו כי הננו **הולכים הלך והתרחק** ממקום חמדתנו

We knew that we were getting further and further from our desired destination (Fuenn 1876-8, 377)

(2)

בצעדי און **הלך** עלם צעיר לימים, **הלך וקרוב** אליה

A young lad walked with powerful steps, coming towards her (Frischmann 1878, 159)

(3)

כרגע הוטלו האסורים סחוב והשלך בחדר

The prisoners had just been dragged and thrown into the room (Berman 1861, 272)

(4)

"[...] ויכוני הכה ופצוע [...]"

'[...] and they hit me, injuring me [...]' (Leinwand 1875-6, 1:59)

(5)

הכאב שב להיות למחלה עזה, אשר הלכה הלוך וגבר יום יום

The pain returned, becoming a grave illness that grew more severe each day (Braudes 1873, 36)

In Biblical Hebrew two infinitives absolute can occur in conjunction with a finite verb to indicate that the action of the second infinitive is simultaneous with that of the first and the finite verb (Joüon 1993, 2:425). In such cases the infinitives absolute are typically postpositive; however, in a few instances they precede the associated finite verb (Davidson 1994, 125). This phenomenon, which seems to be restricted to poetic language, is illustrated in (7). In many cases the finite verb is of the same root as one of the infinitives absolute, but in some instances it is different (Zohori 1990, 92). Such a case is shown in (9). Usually such infinitives absolute directly follow the finite verb, but in some cases they are separated by one or more words (Zohori 1990, 83), as in (9). Most infinitives absolute in this type of setting are from roots referring to movement (Waltke and O'Connor 1990, 589). The root .ג.ל.ה is particularly frequently attested as one of the infinitives absolute (Zohori 1990, 86). Less commonly the infinitives 'qualify the goal or character of the principal verb' (Waltke and O'Connor 1990, 590), as in (8).

The maskilic use of infinitives absolute in this type of setting corresponds to that of the biblical corpus in five respects. Firstly, in both forms of Hebrew the root of the finite verb tends to be the same as that of the first infinitive absolute but can on occasion differ. Secondly, the finite verb typically precedes the infinitives. Thirdly, the finite verb and infinitives are usually immediately adjacent to each other but may be separated by other elements. Fourthly, the maskilic and biblical constructions both frequently refer to movement and simultaneity. Fifthly, the occasional maskilic use of infinitives absolute to designate the result of a finite verb mirrors that found in the Hebrew Bible. The only difference between the two forms of Hebrew in this regard is that maskilic pairs of infinitive absolute never precede the finite verb, whereas their biblical counterparts occasionally do. This divergence most likely indicates that the maskilic authors selected only the more common biblical construction and avoided the less typical one, whether intentionally or subconsciously. Finally, the existence of maskilic infinitive absolute pairs without biblical precedent seems to constitute another case of the authors of the corpus taking a biblical principle and using it creatively rather than relying exclusively on *shibbus*.

(6)

וַיֵּצֵא וַיָּצֵא וַיָּשׁוּב

And it went out, going back and forth (Gen. 8:7)

(7)

הָלִיכוּ וְסָפְפוּ תִלְכָּנָה

They walk along making a tinkling sound (Isa. 3:16)

(8)

וַיַּכְהוּ הָאִישׁ הַזֶּה וַפָּצַעַ

And the man hit him so as to wound him (1 Kings 20:37)

(9)

קְבוּרַת חֲמֹר יִקְבְּרוּ סָחוּב וְהִשְׁלַח מִהֲלָאָה לְשַׁעֲרֵי יְרוּשָׁלַם

He shall be buried like a donkey, dragged out and thrown beyond the gates of Jerusalem (Jer. 22:19)

No instances of this type of infinitive absolute construction are attested in rabbinic literature (Zohori 1990, 132-3) and therefore this stratum of Hebrew cannot be compared with maskilic literature in the present respect.

In Israeli Hebrew two infinitives absolute can be employed following a finite verb, often of the same root as the first infinitive absolute, to convey progressive aspect (Schwarzwald 1988-9, 108-9). This is illustrated in (10). In this respect Maskilic and Israeli Hebrew overlap.

(10)

לאחר שהלכתי הלך וחזר לפחות שלוש פעמים [...] הגעתי לאטרקציה החדשה והמדוברת באילת
After I walked back and forth at least three times, [...] I arrived at the newest and most talked-about attraction in Eilat (Denesh 2007a)

13.2 *Infinitive construct*

13.2.1 *As noun*

The infinitives construct with and without -ל in the corpus sometimes function as nouns. In such cases they can serve as the subject of a sentence, as in (1) and (4), the direct object of a finite verb, as in (2), and an indirect object, as in (3). They may appear in construct to other nouns, as in (4). Infinitives construct in these settings may be prefixed by any of the inseparable prepositions -ב, -כ, -ל, or -מ or preceded by independent prepositions in accordance with their position and role in the sentence. Infinitives serving as subjects and direct objects are typically the variant with -ל, as in (1), or unprefixed infinitives construct, as in (2), but may be prefixed by -מ or -כ when appearing in comparative settings, as in (4) and (5). Those in the role of indirect object can be introduced by any of the inseparable or independent prepositions depending on the context. They sometimes have pronominal subject suffixes, as in (2) and (3).

(1)

"[...] לכלכל זקנים עצלים אין את לבבי [...]"

'[...] supporting lazy old people is not for me [...]' (Bogrov 1878b, 158)

(2)

"הרחיקי שבתך ממנו [...]"

'Move away from him [...]' (Shulman 1873, 90)

(3)

"[...] אך תחת השתדלו לחבב המדות הישרות על הלבבות, הוא מטילן עליהם בתור דין [...]"

'[...] but instead of trying to make people love good deeds, he forces them upon them as law [...]' (Mapu 1857-69, 234)

(4)

"אם כן לא כראות כל אדם תראה את הדבר הגדול הזה"

'If so, your view of this great matter is not like everyone else's' (Smolenskin 1867, 17)

(5)

"[...] טוב לעשוק ולגזול ולהיות חסיד, מהיטיב ולהיות משכיל [...]"

'[...] stealing and robbing and being a Hasid is better than being good and being a Maskil [...]' (Abramowitz 1862, 60)

The infinitive construct with and without ל- in Biblical Hebrew can serve as a noun (Van der Merwe, Naudé, and Kroeze 1999, 154), and are found in the position of subject, as in (6), direct object of a finite verb, as in (7), and indirect object, as in (8). They sometimes appear in the construct state, as in (9), and can take pronominal subject suffixes, as in (7). Infinitives with ל- as well as unprefixes and prefixed infinitives construct without ל- appear in these positions. Unprefixed infinitives construct without ל- may be preceded by independent prepositions according to the context. The maskilic usage is identical to, and therefore most likely based on, its biblical predecessor.

(6)

טוב לה'זנות ליהוה

Praising the Lord is good (Ps. 92:2)

(7)

וְשִׁבְתֶּךָ וְצִמְצִימְךָ וְבֹאֲךָ וְדַעְתִּי אֶת הַתְּהַלֵּלְךָ אֵלַי

I know your sitting and coming and going, and your raging at me (2 Kings 19:27)

(8)

תַּחַת הַיּוֹתֵד צוֹבָה וְשִׁנְאָה וְאֵין עוֹבֵר וְשִׁמְתִּיךָ לְאֵין עוֹלָם

Instead of being abandoned and hated and without visitors, I will make you an everlasting glory (Isa. 60:15)

(9)

לֹא עַת הַאֲסוֹף הַמִּקְנָה

It is not the time for gathering the cattle (Gen. 29:7)

In Rabbinic Hebrew the infinitive with ל־ can be used as a noun (Pérez Fernández 1999, 146). It frequently appears as a subject, as in (10), but does not seem to be used as the direct or indirect object of a finite verb; this role is typically filled by a verbal noun. It does not appear in the construct state or in conjunction with pronominal subject suffixes. Maskilic and Rabbinic Hebrew correspond only in that both may employ the infinitive with ל־ as the subject of a sentence; in other respects the maskilic usage is clearly based on biblical rather than rabbinic convention.

(10)

מוטב לי לחקרא שוטה כל ימי

I would prefer to be called a fool my whole life (Mishnah 'Eduyot 5:6)

In colloquial Israeli Hebrew the infinitive construct with ל־ can serve as the subject of a sentence and as the complement of a preposition (Berman

1978, 288-9, 293-4), as in (11) and (12) in turn. In the higher registers the infinitive construct without **-ל** can be used in such positions with a pronominal subject suffix, as in (13), and/or in the construct state, as in (14). However, it cannot serve as the direct object of a finite verb (Glinert 1989, 317). In this regard informal Israeli Hebrew resembles rabbinic rather than biblical or maskilic literature; the formal language is more similar to the biblical and maskilic corpora but is not identical as it does not employ infinitives as the direct object of finite verbs.

(11)

עדיף לחיזור מאשר להצטער

It's better to be safe than sorry (Haimi 2007)

(12)

בלי לחשוב פעמיים

Without thinking twice (Berman 1978, 294)

(13)

שובם של אקדמאים ארצה הוא צורך חיוני

The return of academics to Israel is a vital need (Berman 1978, 309)

(14)

בשורת הגיע חמש הספינות לנמל

The news of the five ships' arriving at the port (Berman 1978, 310)

13.2.2 *Causal clauses*

Infinitives construct without **-ל** are sometimes found in contexts indicating that their actions are the reason for the occurrence of a later event, which is generally conveyed by a following finite verb. In such cases the infinitives always have a pronoun suffix that functions as the subject of the action in question. Infinitives in these contexts can be prefixed by either **-ב**, as in (1), or **-מ**, as in (2). The translation value of the infinitives construct in these settings

is one of the English conjunctions 'because' or 'as' followed by either a finite verb or a gerund.

(1)

בהיותו איש עשיר ובלי אשה, אמרו שדכנים רבים לחביאחו בברית את אשה לפי ערכו

As he was a rich man without a wife, many matchmakers tried to match him up with a suitable woman (Braudes 1873, 20)

(2)

ומדעתו כי רב כח היהודים לעזור להם, על כן צוה עליה להתרועע גם אותם

And because he knew that the Jews had great power to help them, he ordered her to become friendly with them as well (Smolenskin 1867, 14)

In Biblical Hebrew the infinitive construct is found in causal clauses prefixed by **-ב** or **-מ** or preceded by **יע** or **על** (Williams 1976, 89-90; Waltke and O'Connor 1990, 604), as shown in (3)–(6) in turn. This type of clause is generally followed by a finite verb whose action denotes the outcome of the reason designated by the infinitive construct. The biblical causal clauses constructed of an infinitive construct prefixed by **-ב** or **-מ** are identical to those found in the present corpus; however, maskilic usage differs from that of the Hebrew Bible in that it avoids **יע** or **על** in this type of context.

(3)

בשנאת יהוה אתנו הוציאנו מארץ מצרים

The Lord took us out of Egypt because He hates us (Deut. 1:27)

(4)

מאנהבת יהוה אתכם ומשמרו את השבועה אשר נשבע לאבותיכם הוציא יקנוק אתכם

It was because the Lord loved you and kept the oath that he made to your ancestors that He took you out (Deut. 7:8)

(5)

יען היתמכרנך לעשות הרע בעיני יהוה הנני מביא אליך רעה

Because you have committed yourself to doing what is evil in the eyes of the Lord, I am going to bring disaster upon you (1 Kings 21:20-1)

(6)

הִנְנִי נִשְׁפָּט אוֹתָךְ עַל אֲמֹרְךָ לֹא חָטָאתִי

I am going to judge you for saying, I have not sinned (Jer. 2:35)

In Rabbinic Hebrew the infinitive is not generally employed in causal clauses; instead, the causal conjunctions *ש-ש*, *משום ש-ש*, *על שום ש-*, and *מפני ש-* are used preceding finite verbs or nouns in such contexts (Pérez Fernández 1999, 223–4). In this respect rabbinic usage differs from that found in the maskilic corpus, which is clearly based on the biblical model.

(7)

מִצָּה עַל שֹׁם שֶׁנִּגְאָלוּ אֲבוֹתֵינוּ בְּמִצְרַיִם

Unleavened bread, because our ancestors were liberated in Egypt (Mishnah *Pesahim* 10:5)

(8)

מִפְּנֵי מַה זֶה תְּלוּי מִפְּנֵי שֶׁבִירַךְ אֶת ה'שם

Why was this one hanged? Because he cursed the Lord (Mishnah *Sanhedrin* 6:4)

Israeli Hebrew does not generally employ the infinitive in causal clauses; rather, it utilises a finite verb or nominal form preceded by causal subordinators such as *כי ש-*, *מפני ש-*, and *משום ש-* (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 354). (9) illustrates this usage. However, in high-register language the infinitive construct prefixed by *ב-* can be used in this sense. This is shown in (10). In this regard colloquial Israeli Hebrew usage differs from that found in the maskilic corpus. Formal language sometimes employs a similar structure but nevertheless diverges from maskilic usage in that it does not utilise the *מ-* prefix.

(9)

לא באנו כי חייבנו אלא כי אנו ידידיה של ישראל

We didn't come because we were made to, but because we are friends of Israel
(Glinert 1989, 351)

(10)

בהיותו אחד המצטיינים ביחידה עומדים לשלוח אותו לחו"ל

As he is one of the best in the unit, they are due to send him abroad (Glinert 1989, 317)

13.2.3 *Complement of finite verb*

The most frequent use of the infinitives construct with and without *ל* in the corpus is as a complement supplementing the action of the preceding finite verb. The finite verb and infinitive may be separated by one or more constituent elements, as in (1), or appear adjacent to each other, as in (2). In some cases, such as that shown in (3), the infinitive construct serves as an adverbial complement and the preceding finite verb indicates the manner in which it is performed. In such cases the two verbal forms are never separated by another element. Infinitives construct serving as complements are most commonly prefixed by *ל*, as shown in (1) and (3), but they are often unprefixes, as in (2). The alternation between these two variants seems to be unsystematic. Infinitives construct serving as verbal complements can be equated with English infinitives, while those in the role of adverbial complement are best translated with finite verbs.

(1)

"[...] ואנחנו לא החלנו עוד לעשות עבודתנו [...]"

'[...] and we have not yet started to do our work [...]' (Abramowitz 1862, 46)

(2)

"מה אוכל לעשות? [...]"

'What can I do? [...]' (Schulman 1857-60, 4:45)

(3)

”מה זה היה לך כי כה תמהר ללכת [...]”

‘[...] what was the matter with you that you were going so hastily [...]’

(Smolenskin 1867, 16)

In Biblical Hebrew infinitives construct with and without ל- frequently serve as a verbal or adverbial complement (Van der Merwe, Naudé, and Kroeze 1999, 154-5), as in (4)-(5) and (6) respectively. Infinitival complements found in conjunction with certain finite verbs, such as י.ר.א. , are typically prefixed by ל- , while those following others can be either prefixed or unprefix infinitives construct (Waltke and O’Connor 1990, 606). These two variants are shown in (4) and (5)-(6) respectively. The maskilic usage is nearly identical to, and therefore most likely based on, that of the Hebrew Bible. Comparison of (2) with the identical form in (5) illustrates this similarity. However, the maskilic authors seem to use the ל- prefix unsystematically, while in Biblical Hebrew its appearance is in some cases triggered by the preceding finite verb.

(4)

יָרָא לְשֹׁכֵת בְּצוֹעַר

He was afraid to dwell in Zoar (Gen. 19:30)

(5)

וְלֹא יָדְעוּ עֲשׂוֹת וְכִחָח

They do not know how to do right (Amos 3:10)

(6)

מִדַּעַ מִחֲרָתָן בָּא הַיּוֹם

Why have you come so soon today? (Exod. 2:18)

In Rabbinic Hebrew infinitives with ל- frequently function as complements of preceding finite verbs (Azar 1995, 47-8), as illustrated in (7)

and (8). Rabbinic infinitives do not serve as adverbial complements; rather, nominal forms fill this role (Bendavid 1971, 505). The maskilic corpus resembles its rabbinic predecessor in that both employ infinitives with *-ל* as verbal complements, but differs in its additional use of the infinitive construct and in its use of the infinitive as an adverbial complement. In this regard the maskilic authors have clearly followed biblical convention.

(7)

אֵינוֹ יִכּוֹל לַחְזוֹר וּלְלַמֵּד חוֹבָה

He cannot retract and rule in favour of conviction (Mishnah *Sanhedrin* 5:5)

(8)

לֹאֲחִידְּךָ הֵייתִי רוֹצֵה לִיתֶן

I was willing to give [it] to your brother (Babylonian Talmud *Ketubbot* 66b)

In Israeli Hebrew the infinitive with *-ל* frequently serves as the complement of a verb (Berman 1978, 288), as in (9). In the higher registers it can additionally function as an adverbial complement (Glinert 1989, 225), as in (10). Thus the modern language overlaps with maskilic fiction in some cases, but has no parallel to the maskilic unprefixed infinitive construct serving as a complement.

(9)

אֲנִי רוֹצֵה לַפְתּוֹר אֶת הַבְּעִיָּה

I want to solve the problem (Ben-Asher 1976, 32)

(10)

רָגַע הָאֲמֶת שֶׁל יִשְׂרָאֵל חֲקָדִים לַהֲגִיעַ

Israel's moment of truth came early (Margalit 2006)

13.2.4 *Epexegetical*

An infinitive with *-ל* in close proximity to a finite verb can be used in a context indicating that the actions of both are interlinked, with the former designating

the manner in which the action of the latter comes to pass. Such epexegetical infinitives with **ל־** are invariably follow the related finite verb. Their translation value is usually the English preposition 'by' followed by a gerund.

(1)

"לא טוב עשית לתופף על החלון..."

'You did not do well by tapping on the window...' (Schulman 1857-60, 1:119)

(2)

באו בעצמם ובכבודם לחלות פני המגיד, כי יכבדם לדורש מחר

They came themselves to request that the holy man honour them by speaking the next day (Gordon 1874b, 11)

In Biblical Hebrew the infinitive with **ל־** appears in epexegetical contexts following the associated finite verb (Waltke and O'Connor 1990, 608). This usage is identical to that of the maskilic corpus.

(3)

כי תשמע בקול יהוה אלהיך לשמור את כל מצותיו

If you obey the Lord your God by keeping all of His commandments (Deut. 13:19)

Rabbinic Hebrew does not employ the infinitive with **ל־** in epexegetical settings. Rather, it utilises a finite verb in the tense appropriate to the context preceded by the independent preposition **על ידי** (Bendavid 1971, 501). Thus in this regard rabbinic usage does not correspond to the maskilic corpus.

(4)

והארץ על ידי שהיא עומדת בתפקידיו של הקב"ה לפיכך אינה בולה

But the earth, by doing the Lord's work, does not fade away (Ecclesiastes Rabbah 1:4)

Israeli Hebrew normally conveys epexegetical information using the preposition על ידי followed by a noun, as in (5). Occasionally in high-register language it can employ the infinitive construct prefixed by ב-, as in (6). Thus for the most part present-day Hebrew does not resemble the maskilic corpus in this respect, but in certain formal contexts the two forms of the language overlap.

(5)

הוא יכול לעשות זאת על ידי הנפקת מניות

It can do this by issuing stocks (Lifson 2002)

(6)

...סותר את חרות היחיד [...] בתתו למפרנס את סמכות השליט הסוציאליזם המרקסיסטי

Marxist socialism [...] conflicts with personal freedom by giving the wage-earner the authority of the ruler (Knesset 2006)

13.2.5 *Purpose clauses*

Infinitives following finite verbs sometimes serve as the introduction to purpose clauses. They can be translated by the English infinitive, often preceded by the phrase 'in order to'. These are usually infinitives with ל- appearing without an introductory conjunction, as in (1). However, on occasion they are unprefix infinitives construct immediately preceded by the conjunction למען, as in (2), or, on rare occasions, infinitives with ל- preceded by למען, as in (3). As in many other cases examined in this study, the choice of one variant over the other appears to be unsystematic.

(1)

"לא לשמוע חדשות באתי הנה"

'I didn't come here to listen to news' (Schulman 1857-60, 1:62)

(2)

"[...] רק למען הפיק רצון הסגולה עליך לכתוב את כתב-הצו [...]"

'[...] you have to write the will only in order to get the benefits of the remedy [...]' (Neiman 1878, 325)

(3)

"[...] ובמקומם יתנשאו רחובות רחבים וישרים, למען **לתת** לרוח הצח לבוא בעיר [...]"

'[...] and in their place will rise up wide, straight streets, in order to get fresh air into the city [...]' (Nisselowitz 1875, 88)

Biblical Hebrew employs the infinitive construct with and without **ל** in purpose clauses following finite verbs (Waltke and O'Connor 1990, 604-6). Infinitives with **ל** in these settings are preceded by the finite form without an intervening particle, as in (4). Unprefixed infinitives construct may also appear following the conjunctions **למען** or **בעבור**, as in (5). Thus the biblical and maskilic corpora largely correspond in this regard. They differ only in that Maskilic Hebrew does not employ the conjunction **בעבור** and occasionally uses the infinitive with **ל** in conjunction with **למען**.

(4)

וַיָּבֹאוּ מְכַל הָעַמִּים לִשְׁמֹעַ אֶת הַחֲכָמָה שְׁלֹמֹה

And people of all nations came to hear the wisdom of Solomon (1 Kings 5:14)

(5)

וַאֲמֵץ אֶת לִבּוֹ לִמְעַן תִּתְּנוֹ בְּיָדְךָ

And He hardened his heart in order to deliver him into your hand (Deut. 2:30)

In Rabbinic Hebrew the most common way of expressing purpose is with the infinitive with **ל** (Fassberg 1998, 152). This is illustrated in (6). Occasionally the infinitive may be preceded by the particles **כדי** or **בשביל** (Fassberg 1998, 160). (7) illustrates an infinitive with **כדי**. Rabbinic Hebrew does not utilise the unprefixed infinitive construct, nor does it possess the conjunctions **למען** or **בעבור**. Thus the rabbinic and maskilic usages overlap in that both forms employ the infinitive with **ל** without a preceding conjunction. However, maskilic convention more closely resembles its biblical antecedent

in its use of the unprefix infinitive construct with the conjunction למען. Moreover, the maskilic authors avoid the rabbinic conjunctions כדי and בשביל.

(6)

נתקבצו כולן זו על זו ליטול עצה

They all gathered together in order to take counsel (Basser 1998, lxxxix)

(7)

למה אמרו חכמים עד חצות כדי להרחיק אדם מן העבירה

Why did the Sages say, up to midnight? In order to keep people away from sin (Mishnah *Berakhot* 1:1)

Israeli Hebrew frequently employs the infinitive with ל- in purpose clauses. While such infinitives may convey the purpose element independently, as in (8), they are usually preceded by the conjunction כדי, as in (9). The particle למען does not appear before verbs in Israeli Hebrew (Bliboim 1995, 109). In this respect Israeli Hebrew resembles the maskilic corpus to the extent that both may employ the infinitive with ל- in purpose clauses. However, the two forms of Hebrew differ in that maskilic literature can employ the unprefix infinitive construct and/or the conjunction למען, whereas the modern language uses only the infinitive with ל- and customarily combines it with the conjunction כדי.

(8)

הילדים רצו למגרש לשחק

The kids ran to the lot in order to play (Glinert 1989, 349)

(9)

באתי לארץ כדי ללמוד

I came to Israel in order to study (Bliboim 1995, 110)

13.2.6 *Separative clauses*

The infinitive construct with and without **לֹ** sometimes appear in the corpus in a context indicating that the action of the infinitive cannot take place. Infinitives construct in this type of context are prefixed by **נֹ**, as in (1). Infinitives with **לֹ** appear less frequently in this type of setting, as in (2). In some cases the infinitive with **לֹ** may be prefixed by **נֹ**, as in (3). Usually such separative infinitives are preceded by a verb or, less frequently, an adjective, indicating the reason for the impossibility of the infinitive action; alternatively, they may follow an interjection such as **חלילה**, which conveys the notion that the action of the infinitive should be prevented, as in (4). The English translation value of these forms is usually an infinitive following an adjective preceded by the adverb 'too'. When the maskilic infinitive is part of an oath formula, it can be translated with 'God forbid that' + subjunctive (see Swan 1995, 566 for details of this English construction).

(1)

"[...] צר הבית **מהכיל** את כל הנקבצים [...]"

'[...] the house is too small to include everyone gathered there [...]' (Meinkin 1881, 23)

(2)

"[...] קצור קצרה ידך **לתת** טרף לאשתך [...]"

'[...] are you too poor to provide your wife with meat [...]' (Gottlober 1876, 91)

(3)

"[...] לא בֹּשֶׁת **מלאמור** באוזני, כי המגיד אשר בא עתה איננו צדיק גמור [...]"

'[...] you were not too ashamed to tell me that the holy man who has arrived now is not totally righteous [...]' (Gordon 1874b, 11)

(4)

"[...] חלילה לי **מעשות** כזאת [...]"

'[...] God forbid that I should do such a thing [...]' (Berezkin 1877, 22)

In Biblical Hebrew the infinitive construct prefixed by *-m* can be used to indicate 'a quality of too high a degree' (Williams 1976, 55) and signal that the action to which it refers cannot be carried out because a previous element, generally an adjective, prevents its realisation. This includes instances containing an interjection, as shown in (6). In this respect the biblical and maskilic corpora resemble each other to a significant extent. However, the Hebrew Bible employs only the infinitive construct prefixed by *-m* in such cases whereas the maskilic authors sometimes combine *-m* with infinitives with *-l* or utilise infinitives with *-l* on their own. This divergence fits in with the general maskilic tendency to employ the infinitive with *-l* more frequently than its biblical predecessor and suggests that the authors based their usage on the Bible but deviated slightly from its norms due to the influence of post-Biblical Hebrew, which invariably employs the infinitive with *-l*.

(5)

כִּי הָיָה רַב כְּבוֹדָם רַב מִשָּׂכָת יַחְדָּו

For their possessions were too great for them to live together (Gen. 36:7)

(6)

וַיֹּאמֶר חֲלִילָה לִּי מַעֲשֵׂוֹת זֹאת

He said, 'God forbid that I should do such a thing' (Gen. 44:17)

In Rabbinic Hebrew separative clauses are typically conveyed using the infinitive with *-l* preceded by *-m* (Sharvit 1998, 338), as in (7). Separative clauses introduced by interjections such as *חס וחלילה* are expressed by means of a finite verb in the tense befitting the context (Bendavid 1971, 501). Such a case is shown in (8). Rabbinic and Maskilic Hebrew correspond in that both can convey separative clauses with the infinitive with *-l* prefixed by *-m*; this shared approach, which differs from the biblical norm, may constitute rabbinic influence on maskilic fiction. However, they differ in two ways: firstly, the infinitive with *-l* is not used in rabbinic separative clauses

introduced by interjections, and secondly, the maskilic authors may additionally use the infinitive construct prefixed by *-מ*. Thus, as in many other instances, this maskilic usage appears to constitute a mixture of biblical and rabbinic features.

(7)

מימיהם של כהנים לא נמנעו מלשרוף את הבשר

The priests never refrained from burning the meat (Mishnah *Pesaḥim* 1:6)

(8)

אמר רבי יהודה חס ושלוש שעקביא נתנדה

God forbid that Akabya should be put under a ban (Mishnah *'Eduyot* 5:6)

Separative clauses in Israeli Hebrew following adjective phrases consist of the infinitive with *-ל*, usually either unaccompanied, as in (9), or following the compound form *מכדי*, which conveys excessiveness, or the preposition *בשביל*, as in (10). The degree adverb *מדי* is sometimes used to modify the adjectives preceding such clauses (Glinert 1989, 219), as in (9). In some cases, particularly after the verb *מ.נ.ע.*, *-מ* may be prefixed to the infinitive with *-ל*, as in (11). The only case of an infinitive construct in a separative clause with *-מ* is in set phrases with *נשוא*, such as *קשהוכבד מנשוא*, as in (12). Israeli and Maskilic Hebrew correspond in that both can employ infinitives with *-ל* and possibly the *-מ* prefix in separative clauses. However, they diverge in that the maskilic authors often employ the infinitive construct prefixed by *-מ*, while in the modern language this practice is marginal.

(9)

היה זקן מדי מכדי לשמוע

He was too old to hear (Glinert 1989, 219)

(10)

זה קצת רחוק בשביל לראות

It's a bit too far to see (Glinert 1989, 219)

(11)

היא עצמה, כמורה בחינוך העצמאי, מנועה מלעשות כמותן

She herself, as a teacher in the independent educational system, is prevented from doing as they do (Ettinger and Rotem 2007)

(12)

"[...] הכאב שאני חי איתו כבד מנשוא [...]"

'[...] the pain with which I live is too great to bear [...]' (Barkan 2007)

13.2.7 Temporal clauses

The infinitive construct is the verbal form most commonly used in the temporal clauses in the corpus. In such settings the infinitive can designate an action that took place prior to, at the same time as, or after that of the adjacent finite verb. Such infinitives construct are frequently prefixed by either *-ב* or *-כ*. *-ב* is more common and appears in two different contexts. Firstly, and more typically, it can designate an infinitive action taking place at the same time as that of the finite verb. In such cases the infinitive action is often of roughly the same duration as that of the finite verb, but can be longer. (1) and (2) illustrate these possibilities in turn. Secondly, it is sometimes used when the infinitive action finished immediately before that of the finite verb, as in (3). *-כ* is used only to indicate that the infinitive action took place immediately prior to that of the finite verb, and even in such contexts appears less frequently than *-ב*. It is shown in (4). An infinitive construct in a temporal clause may additionally be unprefixd but preceded by an independent preposition indicating the time at which the infinitive action takes place. Typical prepositions include *מדי*, indicating simultaneity, *לפני*, and *אחרי*. (5) and (6) illustrate some of these possibilities. The subject of an infinitive construct in a temporal clause is always represented by either a possessive pronominal suffix, as in (2), or, less frequently, a directly following noun, as in (1). While temporal clauses are most common in narrative, with the infinitive construct and finite verb both

referring to past events, they are found in direct speech as well, as in (1)-(3). In such cases they take their tense value from the context and can refer to present or future actions as well. Infinitives construct in temporal clauses are usually best translated with English gerunds or with finite verbs whose tense may vary depending on the context. The independent and prefixed prepositions signalling that the action of the infinitive takes place before or at the same time as that of a nearby finite verb can be equated with English prepositions or conjunctions such as 'before', 'after', or 'upon', 'when', 'while', or 'as soon as'.

(1)

"הנה לך מכתב!" אמר המשרת **בתנו** לו מכתב חתום בחותם שחור

'Here's a letter for you!' said the servant as he gave him a letter marked with a black stamp (Brand 1877, 81)

(2)

"שעות אחדות טרם מותו (**בהיותו** גוסס) קרא לי [...]"

'A few hours before his death (while he was dying) he called for me [...]' (Bogrov 1878a, 536)

(3)

"[...] **בהשיגכם** את הכסף תוכלו לקום על נדבות [...]"

'[...] after you've received the money you'll be able to be generous [...]' (Broda 1871, 35)

(4)

כראות האיש את הכפרי ואשתו ובניו ויקרב אליו

Upon seeing the village and his wife and children, the man approached him (Berman 1861, 294)

(5)

ומסחרו זה הצליח בידו ויהי לעשיר אחרי **עבור** שנים אחדות

And he was successful in this business and became rich after a few years
(Frischmann 1878, 159)

(6)

מדי דברו הניף מקלו עליו

While speaking he waved his cane at him (Mapu 1857-69, 217)

In Biblical Hebrew temporal clauses are typically composed of an infinitive construct, which may be prefixed by the inseparable prepositions *-ב*, *-כ*, or *-מ*, or preceded by an independent temporal preposition. Infinitives in this setting customarily have a possessive pronominal suffix or immediately following subject. *-ב* is typically used to designate simultaneity, both when the action of the infinitive is more durative than that of the finite verb and when it is instantaneous (Joüon 1993, 2:625-6), as in (7) and (8) respectively. Immediate anteriority is usually designated by the prefix *-כ* (Waltke and O'Connor 1990, 604; Van der Merwe, Naudé, and Kroeze 1999, 284), as in (9), but can sometimes be indicated with *-ב*, as in (10). The prefixed preposition *-מ* or an independent preposition such as *אחרי* can be used to indicate that the infinitive action took place some time prior to that of the finite verb, as in (11) and (12) in turn. The biblical and maskilic usages overlap in that both employ the infinitive construct in conjunction with prepositions in these settings and in their use of *-ב* and *-כ*. However, the two forms of Hebrew differ in that *-כ* seems to be employed less frequently in maskilic fiction than in the Hebrew Bible. Moreover, they diverge regarding the use of other prepositions: firstly, the maskilic authors do not use *-מ* to denote anteriority; secondly, in the Hebrew Bible *מדי* means 'whenever' and is not used in this type of temporal clause, whereas in the maskilic corpus it has a translation value of 'when' and is employed in a similar way to the prefix *-ב*. This suggests that, as in other instances discussed in this study, the maskilic authors based their usage on biblical precedent but modified it slightly, perhaps unintentionally.

(7)

וַיְהִי בַּהֲיוֹתָם בַּשָּׂדֶה וַיִּקָּם קַיִן אֶל הָבֶל

And while they were in the field Cain rose up against Abel (Gen. 4:8)

(8)

בֶּן שְׁלֹשִׁים שָׁנָה דָּוִד מָלָכוּ

David was thirty years old when he became king (2 Sam. 5:4)

(9)

וַיְהִי כִּי רָאָה אֶת הַנָּזָם וְאֶת הַצִּמְדִּים עַל יָדֵי אָחִיתוֹ וּכְשָׁמְעוֹ אֶת דְּבָרֵי רֵבֶקָה אָחִיתוֹ לֵאמֹר כֹּה דָּבַר אֱלִי הָאִישׁ וַיִּבֹּא אֶל הָאִישׁ

When he had seen the nose ring and the bracelets on his sister's arms, and when he had heard Rebecca say, 'This is what the man said to me,' he approached the man (Gen. 24:30)

(10)

כִּי עָנָהוּ יְהוָה בְּגִבּוֹן אָרְגָן הַיְּבוּסִי וַיִּזְבַּח שָׁם

As soon as David saw that the Lord had answered him at the threshing floor of Ornan the Jebusite, he sacrificed there (1 Chron. 21:28)

(11)

מִתְחִל חֲרֹמֶשׁ בְּקֶמַח תַּחֲלֵל לְסֹפֵר שְׂבָעָה שָׁבָעוֹת

From the time that you begin to use the sickle on the standing grain you shall start counting seven weeks (Deut. 16:9)

(12)

וַיְחִי שֵׁת אַחֲרֵי הוֹלִידוֹ אֶת אֱנוֹשׁ שְׁבַע שָׁנִים וְשִׁמְנָה מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה

And Seth lived eight hundred and seven years after begetting Enosh (Gen. 5:7)

Rabbinic Hebrew does not employ the infinitive in temporal clauses; rather, it uses a finite verb, typically preceded by a temporal conjunction such as -מש, -מעשה ש-, -כש-, בזמן ש-, or, in future contexts, -לכש- (Pérez Fernández 1999, 206-7). (13) and (14) illustrate some of these possibilities. In this respect the

maskilic authors' presentation of temporal clauses appears clearly to be based on biblical rather than rabbinic precedent. Moreover, their use of *מדי* indicating simultaneity in such contexts lacks precedent in either canonical form of Hebrew; rather, these phenomena appear to constitute further examples of original maskilic usage.

(13)

משרבו הרוצחנין בטלה עגלה ערופה

After murders proliferated, the ritual of breaking the heifer's neck ceased (Mishnah *Sotah* 9:9)

(14)

בשביל שלא יהיו מעכבין אותו בשעה שהוא זולף את המים

In order for it not to hinder him when he sprinkles the water (Mishnah *Parah* 7:8)

Israeli Hebrew temporal clauses are usually composed of a temporal conjunction followed by a finite verb, as in (15). However, in written language the infinitive construct can be used (Berman 1978, 296). An infinitive in such a position must be introduced by some kind of temporal marker, either *-ב* or an independent preposition such as *עם*, *לפני*, or *אחרי* (Berman 1978, 301). (16) and (17) illustrate these possibilities. An infinitive construct in this type of position must be followed by a possessive pronominal suffix or explicit subject (Glinert 1989, 315-6), as in (16) and (17) respectively. The tense value is inferred from the context. Thus written Israeli Hebrew sometimes resembles the present corpus in this respect except for the fact that it never introduces the infinitives construct with *-כ*; similarly, maskilic literature does not employ the preposition *עם*. Moreover, the construction is extremely widespread in maskilic fiction but relatively restricted in the modern language.

(15)

לא הייתי בבית כשהיא הגיעה

I wasn't at home when she arrived (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 350)

(16)

הוא נחבט ברדתו מהמטוס

He was hit while coming off the plane (Bliboim 1995, 126)

(17)

הילדים ברחו לפני בוא השוטרי

The children fled before the policeman arrived (Berman 1978, 289)

III SYNTAX

14 QATAL

14.1 Sequences of *qatal* forms in narrative

While the corpus often employs a *qatal* followed by the *wayyiqtol* to express a chain of successive past actions comprising part of the main narrative, it also frequently exhibits two or more unprefixes *qatal* forms joined by a *waw*-conjunctive in seemingly identical contexts. In the latter cases the subject may be either explicit or implicit. Such *qatal* sequences are generally translatable with English preterites. It is possible that the authors deliberately chose to use a chain of *qatals* in certain instances to indicate that their actions should not be interpreted as successive but rather as simultaneous or otherwise non-sequential – for example when each action occurred at some point in the past but not necessarily in the order in which the verbs appear. However, in most cases, such as those shown in (1)-(3), such a motivation seems extremely unlikely as the actions appear to be sequential and there is no clear difference in meaning between those rendered with *qatals* and the final one, for which a *wayyiqtol* is used. Conversely, in such instances it is possible that the authors employed the *wayyiqtol* only for the final action because of syntactic considerations (see 11.1.3 for details).

(1)

מהרתי ושלחתי מעל פני את העומדים עלי, מסרתי תכריכי במספר ליד העגלון, הליטותי פני באדרתי ואתנפל בתוך העגלה

I hurriedly sent away those who were standing around me, gave my few belongings to the driver, covered my face in my coat and fell onto the wagon (Gordon 1874b, 3)

(2)

אחרי כן התעורר יוסף משנתו, הרים את ראשו במנוחה, פנה כה וכה ויבט על סביבותיו

After that Joseph awoke, lifted his head calmly, turned this way and that and looked around (Wilenskin 1863, 409)

(3)

הרב קרא את המכתב ועיניו שפכו עינות מים, פרש כפיו, קרע שמלותיו, מרט שערות ראשו ויקרא
 The rabbi read the letter and tears spilled from his eyes, he spread out his
 palms, tore his garments, pulled hair from his head and read (Dick 1867, 305)

Biblical Hebrew narrative is characterised by the use of the *wayyiqtol* for the expression of sequential past actions; the *qatal* is not generally employed in these settings (Eskhult 1990, 22-3). It typically appears only when the speaker or narrator specifically wishes to present the past actions concerned as non-sequential, usually for one of the following four reasons: a) to provide background information occurring prior to or otherwise outside of the narrative itself, as in (4); b) to highlight a contrast between a series of successive actions and draw attention away from their consecutive nature, as in (5); c) to mark an opposition between two simultaneous mainline narrative events, as in (6); and d) to highlight a previously mentioned action, as in (7). See Niccacci (1990, 62-71) for further details of these categories. In such constructions the *qatals* are invariably preceded by their subjects (Eskhult 1990, 63), as exemplified in (4)-(6). Comparison of these biblical citations with (1)-(3) reveals that the maskilic examples do not clearly fall into any of the above four groups; this suggests that the use of *qatals* in Maskilic Hebrew does not precisely correspond to that of the Bible. Moreover, there is a syntactic difference between the two forms of the language: while in Biblical Hebrew the *qatals* are consistently introduced by their subject, in the present corpus they are frequently unaccompanied.

(4)

וַיֵּצֵא מֵאֵהָל לֵאָה וַיָּבֵא בְּאֵהָל רָחֵל: וְרָחֵל לָקְחָהּ אֶת הַתְּרָפִים

Then he went out of Leah's tent and entered Rachel's tent; now Rachel had taken the idols (Gen. 31:33-4)

(5)

וַיִּהְיֶה יְהוֹרָם יָדָיו וַיִּגֹּס וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל אַחֲזִיָּהוּ מֶרְמָה אַחֲזִיָּה : וַיְהִי וְאֵלָּא יָדָיו בִּקְשָׁת וַיָּנֶח אֶת יְהוֹרָם

Then Yoram turned his horses [lit: hands] around and fled, and called to Ahaziah, 'Treason, Ahaziah!' But Yehu took his bow in his hand and struck Yoram (2 Kings 9:23-4)

(6)

וַיֵּלֶךְ שְׁמוּאֵל הַרְמָתָה וְשָׁאוּל עָלָה אֶל בֵּיתוֹ וַגְּדַעַת שְׁאוּל

Then Samuel went off to Ramah, whereas Saul went up to his house at Gibe'ah of Saul (1 Sam. 15:34)

(7)

וַנְּסַפֵּר לוֹ וַיִּפְתָּר לָנוּ אֶת חֲלֻמֵּינוּ אִישׁ כְּחֻלְמוֹ פָּתָר

We told him our dreams and he interpreted them for us; he interpreted each according to his own dream (Gen. 41:12)

The use of these *qatal* chains resembles the standard way of expressing sequences of past events in Rabbinic Hebrew, where the *wayyiqtol* is unattested (Pérez Fernández 1999, 107). However, as stated above, the maskilic intention in using *qatals* may not always be the presentation of sequential past action because unlike Rabbinic Hebrew it possesses the *waw*-consecutive construction for this purpose.

(8)

אֶגְרִיפָס הַמֶּלֶךְ עָמַד וּקְבַל וּקְרָא

King Agrippa stood and received it and read (Mishnah *Sotah* 7:8)

The *qatal* is the standard form for the expression of past actions in Israeli Hebrew, including both the successive and non-sequential types. The *waw*-consecutive is not employed. In this respect the modern language bears a greater resemblance to Rabbinic than to Maskilic Hebrew.

(9)

הוא חשב וחשב, ולא ידע מה להגיד

He thought and thought, but did not know what to say (Chayat, Israeli, and Kobliner 2001, 234)

14.2 *Qatal introducing narrative sequence*

Most narrative sequences in the corpus describing a series of past actions taking place at the time of the main story begin with a *qatal*. Such *qatals* can be followed by either *wayyiqtol*s, as in (1), or additional *qatals*, as in (2). The initial *qatals* in these cases are clearly located on the narrative line and constitute an element in the following sequential chains. These *qatals* refer to past actions taking place at the time of the main story and therefore correspond to English preterite verbs; this is illustrated in the translations of the extracts from the corpus in which such verbs occur.

(1)

יעקב שלם את שכרו ויפתח את המכתב

Jacob paid his fee and opened the letter (Brand 1877, 81)

(2)

עברו ימי המשתה והגראף נסע את אשתו הצעירה לאיטליה

The days of the banquet passed and the Count travelled with his young wife to Italy (Fuenn 1872, 299)

Qatals are frequently found in the Hebrew Bible directly before narrative sequences of *wayyiqtol*s. However, while such constructions formally mirror those found in the maskilic corpus, their function is most likely different: as Niccacci (1990, 35-6) argues, in biblical narrative *qatals* preceded by an explicit subject do not serve to advance a storyline; rather, they supply 'recovered information', details of a previous situation relevant to but not part of the main story. (3) illustrates such an instance and can be contrasted with (4), which shows a narrative sequence beginning with a mainline *wayyiqtol*.

(3)

וְיוֹסֵף הוּנָד מִצְרָיִם [...] וְנִהְיָ יְהוָה אִתּוֹ יוֹסֵף וְנִהְיָ אִישׁ מְצַלִּים וְנִהְיָ בְּבֵית אֲדֹנָיו הַמִּצְרִי

Now Joseph had been taken down to Egypt [...] the Lord was with Joseph, and he became successful and stayed in the house of his Egyptian master (Gen. 39:1-2)

(4)

וַיְבָרֶךְ אֱלֹהִים אֶת נֹחַ וְאֶת בָּנָיו וַיֹּאמֶר לָהֶם פְּרוּ וּרְבוּ וּמְלֵאוּ אֶת הָאָרֶץ

God blessed Noah and his sons and said to them, 'Be fruitful and multiply and fill the earth' (Gen. 9:1)

Rabbinic Hebrew does not possess the *wayyiqtol* and consistently employs *qatals* to introduce past-tense narrative. In this way tannaitic and amoraic language resembles that of the present corpus and it could be that the maskilic authors were influenced by Rabbinic Hebrew as far as this usage is concerned. However, the resemblance does not always extend beyond this initial verb, as Rabbinic Hebrew always continues the narrative chain with further *qatals* whereas the maskilic corpus frequently utilises *wayyiqtol*s.

(5)

אגריפס המלך עמד וקבל וקרא

King Agrippa stood and received it and read (Mishnah *Sotah* 7:8)

Israeli Hebrew always uses a *qatal* to initiate a past narrative sequence; in this way it mirrors rabbinic language as well as the maskilic texts.

(6)

בשנת 1906 הוא עלה לארץ ופתח בארץ ישראל בית ספר גבוה לאומנות

In 1906 he settled in Palestine and opened an art college in the Land of Israel (Chayat, Israeli, and Kobliner 2001, 66)

15 YIQTOL

15.1 *Negative commands*

Direct negative commands in the corpus are conveyed using a second person *yiqtol* prefixed by either of the negators **אל** or **לא**. While **אל** is employed more frequently than **לא**, the choice of one or the other appears to be unsystematic: both particles are employed in contexts indicating commands referring to a specific occasion, as comparison of (1) and (2) illustrates, as well as more durative prohibitions, as comparison of (3) and (4) exemplifies. Furthermore, both negators may appear side by side in similar contexts, as in (5), in which both commands seem to be durative.

(1)

"[...] **אל תלכי** לנום עד אשר אשובה [...]"

'[...] don't go to sleep until I come back [...]' (Meinkin 1881, 50)

(2)

ויפן לצאת. "**לא תעבור** מזה!" רעמה האישה

And he turned to leave. 'Don't leave!' cried the woman (Shapiro 1874, 565)

(3)

"[...] חיה, בני [...] **ואל תשכח** רעת געל [...]"

'[...] live, my son [...] and don't forget the evil of Ga'al [...]' (Mapu 1857-69, 219)

(4)

"[...] נערה אשר אין נדה לה **לא תינשא** [...]"

'[...] don't marry a girl without a dowry [...]' (Braudes 1877, 186)

(5)

"[...] **אל תחטאו** לחקי הארץ ולא תיראו מפני יד הממשלה -"

'[...] don't sin against the laws of the land, and don't fear the power of the government -' (Smolenskin 1873, 592)

Biblical Hebrew can employ either the second person jussive preceded by **לֹא** or the *yiqtol* preceded by **אַל** to present negative commands (Shulman 1996, 141, 148-9). The choice of form and particle often appears to be dependent on the context in which the negative command is located: the *yiqtol* with **אַל** is typically used for durative prohibitions (Van der Merwe, Naudé, and Kroeze 1999, 320), particularly in legislative passages (Waltke and O'Connor 1990, 510), as in (6); by contrast, the jussive with **לֹא** is generally used in negative commands relating to a specific event (Van der Merwe, Naudé, and Kroeze 1999, 318), as in (7). However, Qimron (1983, 477) argues that both particles are occasionally employed in close proximity to each other merely out of a desire for variety rather than in order to convey a semantic difference, as in (8). Thus the biblical and maskilic corpora correspond to a certain degree on this issue as they can both negate commands with either **לֹא** or **אַל**. However, they diverge in that the maskilic authors typically employ the *yiqtol* with both particles rather than the jussive. Moreover, they may diverge in that Biblical Hebrew seems typically to use each construction in different semantic circumstances while maskilic literature employs them seemingly indiscriminately. The fact that both constructions occasionally appear in similar contexts in the Hebrew Bible may have contributed to the maskilic authors' perception of them as interchangeable.

(6)

וַיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי שַׁבָּת לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ לֹא תַעֲשֶׂה כָל מְלָאכָה

And the seventh day is a Sabbath for the Lord; you shall not do any work

(Exod. 2:9)

(7)

אַל תִּשְׁלַח יָדְךָ אֶל הַנֶּעֱר וְאַל תַּעַשׂ לוֹ מְאוֹמָה

Do not lay your hand on the boy, and do not do anything to him (Gen 22:12)

(8)

אַל תִּלְכִּי לִלְקוֹט בְּשָׂדֶה אֲחֵר וְגַם לֹא תַעֲבֹדִי מִזֶּה

'Don't go glean in another field, and don't move from here' (Ruth 2:8)

Rabbinic Hebrew generally employs the particle **אל** followed by a *yiqtol* verb in order to issue direct negative commands, as in (9); the jussive is employed only rarely in biblicising passages of the Mishnah (Pérez Fernández 1999, 122-4), as in (10). Rabbinic writings do not appear to use **לא** in this type of context. Maskilic and rabbinic conventions differ in that the maskilic authors employ both particles; however, the maskilic tendency to use **אל** with the *yiqtol* instead of the jussive may be attributable to rabbinic influence.

(9)

אל תתחבר לרשע

Do not associate with the wicked (Mishnah *Avot* 1:7)

(10)

אל תעש עצמך כעורכי הדיונין

Do not make yourself like the advocates (Mishnah *Avot* 1:8)

Israeli Hebrew consistently forms negative commands with the *yiqtol* preceded by **אל** (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 44). It does not employ **לא** or the jussive in such circumstances. Like Rabbinic Hebrew, the modern language corresponds to the maskilic corpus in this respect in the use of the *yiqtol* with **אל**, but differs regarding **לא**.

(11)

אל תשב על ד הדלת!

Don't sit near the door! (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 44)

15.2 Sequences of *yiqtol*s

Although occasionally two or more successive verbs with future tense value are expressed by a *yiqtol* followed by a *weqatal*, it is more common to find a sequence of *yiqtol*s joined by a *waw*-conjunctive. This sequence occurs in direct

speech with the present moment as its deictic centre, and is used to convey two or more actions expected to take place following that point. *Yiqtol*s in this position correspond to the English future construction 'will' + infinitive. There are two possible interpretations for the authors' use of such constructions. The first is that they chose to employ a series of *yiqtol*s rather than a *yiqtol* followed by *weqatal* in order to downplay any sequential elements in the verbs in question and instead present them as isolated actions even if they occur in logical or temporal succession. The second is that the choice of *yiqtol* sequences in some cases and *weqatals* in others is arbitrary, with no semantic motivation. This second possibility seems more likely than the first, as the highlighted *yiqtol*s in (1) and (2) indicate actions that follow on temporally from the preceding *yiqtol*s.

(1)

"[...] ובין כה וכה ארוץ ואחייץ לאורעליא את כל אשר נעשה [...]"

'...and in the meantime I will run and tell Aurelia everything that has happened...' (Smolenskin 1867, 22)

(2)

"[...] אז ילך ביתה המשפט וידרוש אחריה [...]"

'[...] then he will go to the courthouse and ask for it [...]' (Leinwand 1875-6, 1:86)

In Biblical Hebrew a construction consisting of a *yiqtol* followed by one or more *weqatals* is regularly employed in contexts indicating two or more future actions that are temporally or logically sequential. Instances in which an initial *yiqtol* is followed by another *yiqtol* rather than a *weqatal* represent deliberate attempts to highlight a lack of consecution between the two actions (Joüon 1993, 2:396). This sort of structure is most commonly found in clauses in which one future action is presented as contrasting with another, such as that shown in (3). With the exception of such particular cases, biblical language favours the use of *weqatals* when expressing two or more actions

with future tense value even when there is no specific element of temporal or logical succession (Joüon 1993, 2:397). This trend is illustrated in (4). Thus it is possible that biblical convention corresponds to that of the maskilic authors, as the use of *yiqtol*s in both periods may stem from a specific desire to avoid expressing consecution. However, the maskilic employment of *yiqtol*s does not appear to be as systematic as that of its biblical counterpart. This suggests that the authors of the present corpus based their use of this structure on biblical precedent but failed to employ it in precisely the same semantic circumstances. This unsystematic selection of the *yiqtol* instead of the *weqatal* is in keeping with the general maskilic tendency to employ biblical structures erratically and without the underlying semantic motivations of their model.

(3)

וְהָיָה כִּי יֵרְאוּ אֹתְךָ הַמִּצְרִים וְאָמְרוּ אֵשֶׁתוֹ זֹאת וְהָרְגוּ אֹתִי וְאַתָּךְ יַחְיֶי

And when the Egyptians see you, they will say, 'This is his wife,' and they will kill me, but they will let you live (Gen. 12:12)

(4)

אֶמְרִי נָא אֲחֹתִי אַתְּ לְמַעַן יֵטֵב לִי בְּעִבְרָךְ וְחַיְתָּה וְנִפְשִׁי בְּגִלְגֵּל

Say that you are my sister so that things may go well for me because of you and I may stay alive because of you (Gen. 12:13)

As Rabbinic Hebrew does not employ the *weqatal*, sequences of actions with future tense value are generally expressed using two or more *yiqtol* verbs whether the actions are temporally or logically consecutive, as in the last two verbs in (5), or not, as in the first two. This usage resembles that found in the maskilic corpus in the instances discussed above. It is possible that the maskilic inclination to render a sequence of future actions via a series of *yiqtol*s in some cases has its roots in the preponderance of the practice in rabbinic language; however, the fact that similar chains of actions are sometimes expressed in the corpus using a *yiqtol* followed by *weqatals* indicates that the

maskilic authors did not draw solely on tannaitic and amoraic usage in this regard but rather duplicated biblical practice in some instances.

(5)

אלך לביתי ואוכל קימעה ואשתה קימעה ואישן קימעה

I will go home and eat a bit, and drink a bit and sleep a bit (Babylonian Talmud *Berakhot* 4b)

Israeli Hebrew, like rabbinic writings, generally uses a sequence of *yiqtol*s to express a series of future actions, temporal or logical links between the two notwithstanding. This practice can be seen in (6) and (7): (6) illustrates a chain of temporally consecutive actions, while (7) contains two events lacking such a link. It is thus difficult to ascertain the extent to which maskilic usage has influenced the present-day language in this respect: while it appears that Maskilic and Israeli Hebrew both employ sequences of *yiqtol*s to convey a series of temporally and/or logically consecutive future actions, the present corpus can additionally convey such actions with the *weqatal* while the modern language does not possess this construction. Additionally, Israeli Hebrew employs the *yiqtol* to convey both consecutive and non-consecutive future action sequences, while the present corpus may distinguish between the two types by using the *weqatal* to express the former and a chain of *yiqtol*s for the latter.

(6)

הוא יפתח את הספרים הקלסיים מהתנ"ך ועד איינשטיין, ויקרא אותם שוב ושוב

He will open the classical books from the Hebrew Bible to Einstein and read them again and again (Chayat, Israeli, and Kobliner 2001, 116)

(7)

המורים יעזרו לסטודנטים בקבוצות קטנות ויעבדו איתם על המחקר שלהם

The teachers will help the students in small groups and help them with their research (Chayat, Israeli, and Kobliner 2001, 112)

16 QOTEL

16.1 Negation

The *qotels* in the corpus can be negated by either of the particles *אין* or *לא*. There does not appear to be a syntactic motivation for the selection of one particle over the other: each appears in conjunction with both nouns and pronouns and *אין* is attested both independently and with pronominal suffixes. The following examples illustrate these points: (1) exemplifies an independent *אין* while (2) contains one with a pronominal suffix; similarly, (3) exhibits the particle *לא* with a noun as its subject whereas (4) contains one in conjunction with a pronoun. Likewise, there do not appear to be any semantic reasons behind the choice of particle: both are attested in direct speech as well as narrative, as comparison of (2) and (3) with (1) and (5) illustrates. Moreover, both particles are attested in the speech of all types of characters. For example, (2) illustrates a traditional Jew using *אין* while (3) shows an educated Maskil employing *לא*; thus the choice of one particle instead of the other cannot be attributed to a desire to convey the feel of either uneducated or elevated language. Finally, both *אין* and *לא* can be used to negate *qotels* in the same variety of present and future tense contexts, including the habitual present, as in (1) and (3) respectively, and the immediate present, as in (2) and (4) respectively. However, in some cases the selection of negator may be based on biblical precedent, as in (2), which imitates the construction shown in (7).

(1)

אבל הסעודות ההנה **אין נקבעות** בבית מלון אורחים

But these festive meals are not held at a guesthouse (Gordon 1874b, 5)

(2)

"[...] **אין דם משגת** כעת לעטר אותן בעורות שעירות היקרות מאד"

'[...] they cannot afford to decorate them with the expensive furs now' (Dick 1867, 305)

(3)

”[...] והמון העם לא שומע, לא מבין ולא מרגיש [...]”

‘[...] and the masses do not listen, do not understand and do not feel [...]’

(Mapu 1857-69, 228)

(4)

”חי נפשי כי לא מצחק אני!”

‘I promise that I’m not laughing!’ (Frischmann 1878, 161)

(5)

לא נופלים אנחנו מכל יתר הקהמון

We are no worse than any of the rest of the masses (Berman 1861, 249)

Biblical Hebrew typically employs *אין* to negate the *qotel* (Van der Merwe, Naudé, and Kroeze 1999, 318), as in (6) and (7). This convention is rooted in the nominal nature of the biblical *qotel* (Davidson 1994, 136). There are only three biblical *qotels* negated with *לא*, appearing in Zephaniah 3:5 and Job 12:3 and 13:2. Joosten (1989, 138) points out that none of these three forms refers to the immediate present. This is illustrated in (8). In this respect Biblical and Maskilic Hebrew differ considerably, as the maskilic authors frequently negate *qotels* with *לא* in all types of present and future tense contexts including the immediate present; moreover, the maskilic *qotel* forms negated by *לא* are not usually ascribable to *shibbus*. This divergence indicates that the maskilic authors were influenced by post-biblical usage in this regard.

(6)

אֵינֹנִי נֹתֵן לָכֶם תֶּבֶן

I will not give you straw (Exod. 5:10)

(7)

וְאִם דָּל הוּא וְאִין יְדוֹ מְשֻׁנֶּה וְלִקְחָהּ כֶּבֶשׂ אֶחָד

And if he is poor and has insufficient means, he shall take one lamb (Lev. 14:21)

(8)

לא נפל אנכי מקם

I am not less than you (Job 12:3, 13:2)

In Rabbinic Hebrew *qotels* are usually negated with *אין*. The particle *לא* is used on occasion, generally in order to indicate a contrast (Sharvit 2004, 71-2). These variants are shown in (9) and (10) respectively. The fact that both Rabbinic and Maskilic Hebrew can employ either particle to negate *qotels*, while the biblical corpus utilises *אין* almost exclusively, suggests that in this regard the maskilic authors were influenced by rabbinic usage to some degree. However, Maskilic Hebrew differs from its rabbinic antecedent in that it employs the particle *לא* relatively frequently and does not normally employ it in order to indicate a contrast. The fact that the maskilic authors did not systematically duplicate rabbinic practice, and that they did not employ the particle *לא* in order to serve a semantic function such as the feel of colloquial speech, suggests that the influence may have been unintentional.

(9)

אין היורשים יכולין להוציא מידם

The heirs cannot recover it from them (Mishnah *Baba Qamma* 9:12)

(10)

בית שמאי אומרים נוטלין אבל לא מחזירין

The House of Shammai says: one may remove them but not put them back (Mishnah *Shabbat* 3:1)

In Israeli Hebrew *qotels* may be negated with either *אין* or *לא*, although *אין* is more typical of the formal registers and *לא* is more common in the colloquial language (Glinert 1989, 294). In this respect the present-day

language resembles the maskilic corpus to a great degree, although the difference in register between the two particles present in Israeli Hebrew has no parallel in maskilic literature.

(11)

היא לא יכולה לדבר עכשיו בטלפון כי היא עובדת

She can't talk on the phone now because she is working (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 36)

(12)

הוא אינו מצליח להרכיב את המכשיר

He is not succeeding in assembling the device (Bliboim 1995, 34)

17 WAYYIQTOL AND WEQATAL

17.1 *Wayyiqtol*

17.1.1 *Wayyiqtol beginning a sentence*

While *wayyiqtol*s are most frequently found following an initial *qatal*, they appear sporadically at the beginning of a sentence or paragraph. There are two possible explanations for this infrequent use of initial *wayyiqtol*s. The first is that they are used in order to signal that the initial verb in question is intended to follow on temporally or logically from the action in a previous sentence, with the *waw*-consecutive carrying the force of 'so' or 'and then'. The fact that such *wayyiqtol*s are attested on only a small number of occasions suggests that the authors may have consciously selected them for a certain reason. In the instances in question there does seem to be a relationship between the sentences: for example, in (2) the paragraph-initial *wayyiqtol* constitutes a thematic progression from the previous paragraph, and it is possible that the author chose the *wayyiqtol* specifically in order to make this connection explicit. On the other hand, it is difficult to resolve irrefutably whether this is true: the links present in such contexts may be solely implied and not expressly conveyed by the *wayyiqtol*. Moreover, in some cases, such as that shown in (1), the connection between sentences is less apparent. The second explanation is thus that the use of sentence-initial *wayyiqtol*s is coincidental and that they serve no semantic purpose. This possibility is supported by the fact that *qatals* are sometimes found in similar settings, beginning a sentence or paragraph that represents a temporal or thematic continuation of a previous one. (3) illustrates this point, as it contains both a sentence-initial *wayyiqtol* and a sentence-initial *qatal* with introductory *waw*-conjunctive, with both forms appearing to convey the same sense of continuity.

(1)

אשה עניה ועצובת רוח נדדה ללחם בויטאמיר על פתחי נדיבים, ואֶתָּה שני בניה ילדים רכים, רעבים וצמאים, האחד על זרועותיה והשני הלך לימינה. **וַתָּבֹא** אל שדרות החנויות

A poor, downcast woman begged for bread in Zhitomir in the doorways of the charitable, and with her were her two young children, hungry and thirsty, one in her arms and the second walking at her right side. (So/and) she came to the avenues of shops (Berman 1861, 270)

(2)

"פלאות תשמענה אזני הפעם!" קרא הגראף, "ואתה הלא אמרת כי יהודי אתה!"

ויספר אלפסי להגראף את תולדותיו

'My ears are hearing wonders now!' cried the count, 'and after all, you said that you were a Jew!'

(So/then) Alfasi told the count the story of his life (Brandstädter 1875, 672)

(3)

והאורח נגש אליהם ושם עיניו אל הזקן, ועפעפיו בחנו את שרה ואת רוחמה בתה, אשר נבוכו מאד. **וישאל** האיש: "היש פה מקום ללון?"

(Then) the guest approached them and fixed his eyes on the old man, and his eyes [lit: eyelids] scrutinised Sarah and his daughter Ruhma, who were extremely confused. (Then) the man asked, 'Is there room to lodge here?' (Mapu 1857-69, 217)

In Biblical Hebrew a *wayyiqtol* can initiate a verse or narrative sequence (Van der Merwe, Naudé and Kroeze 1999, 166). While at first glance this practice appears to parallel the maskilic construction under discussion, the biblical structure may serve a different purpose. Some scholars propose that the function of the biblical *wayyiqtol* is to begin and maintain a narrative sequence, and that when a clause with a *qatal* is found in an introductory position it serves solely to provide ancillary information without constituting part of the narrative itself (Niccacci 1990, 47-8; Van Wolde 2002, 39). As discussed in 14.2, *qatals* are frequently employed in the corpus to initiate past narrative sequences rather than to introduce background details. This means

that the use of an initial *wayyiqtol* is not required in maskilic writing in order to signal the start of a narrative chain; thus its function is not the same as that of its biblical counterpart no matter which of the two above proposed explanations for the maskilic practice is correct.

(4)

והנחש תנה ערום מכל חית השדה אשר עשה יהוה אלהים ויאמר אל האשה אף כי אמר אלהים
לא תאכלו מכל עץ הגן

Now the snake was the most cunning of all the wild animals that the Lord God had made. He said to the woman, 'Did God really tell you not to eat of any tree of the garden?' (Gen. 3:1)

Rabbinic and Israeli Hebrew do not use the *wayyiqtol* and thus have no structure corresponding to the maskilic one discussed here.

17.1.2 *Wayyiqtol* following non-finite verbal form

*Wayyiqtol*s designating punctive actions with past tense value are attested in both direct speech and narrative without a preceding finite verb but rather following a non-finite form, typically a temporal clause comprised of an inseparable preposition and an infinitive construct. (1) and (2) illustrate this practice. These forms are best translated with the English preterite tense.

(1)

"[...] ויהי בשמעו כי אנכי מחבר ויסוג אחור מספר צעדים [...]"

'[...] and when he heard that I was a writer he took a few steps back [...]'

(Abramowitz 1862, 26)

(2)

ובדברו וישלח ידו אל הפעמון

And as he spoke he reached for the bell (Luria 1864-5, 89)

In Biblical Hebrew the *wayyiqtol* can appear following a non-finite verbal form such as a *qotel* or a temporal clause (Waltke and O'Connor 1990,

553, 561-2), as in (3) and (4) respectively. In this respect the maskilic practice identically mirrors that of its biblical model, with the sole difference between the two types of Hebrew being that the *wayyiqtol* construction itself is attested less frequently in maskilic literature than in the Hebrew Bible.

(3)

וַיֹּאמֶר מִי אֵפוֹא הוּא הַצֹּד צִיד וַיָּבֵא לִי

He said, 'Who then was it that hunted game and brought it to me?' (Gen. 27:33)

(4)

בַּעֲלֹתִי הַהִרָה לָקַחַת לִוְחוֹת הָאֲבָנִים לִוְחוֹת הַבְּרִית אֲשֶׁר כָּרַת יְהוָה עִמָּכֶם וְאֲשֶׁב בְּהָר אַרְבָּעִים יוֹם וְאַרְבָּעִים לַיְלָה

When I went up on the mountain to take the stone tablets, the tablets of the covenant that the Lord made with you, I stayed on the mountain for forty days and forty nights (Deut. 9:9)

Rabbinic Hebrew does not employ the *wayyiqtol* and therefore lacks a structure analogous to that found in the maskilic corpus. In rabbinic literature verbs denoting perfective past actions following non-finite verbal forms or temporal clauses are consistently conveyed with the *qatal*, as in (5).

(5)

בשעה שתיקן שלמה עירובין ונטילת ידים יצאה בת קול

When Solomon instituted *'erubin* and the washing of hands a heavenly voice came forth (Babylonian Talmud *Shabbat* 14b)

Israeli Hebrew lacks the *waw*-consecutive and associated forms, and therefore cannot be equated with maskilic literature in this regard. The modern form of the language consistently conveys a punctive past action following a non-finite verbal form with a *qatal*, as in (6).

(6)

בעלותו לישראל הוא שינה את שמו

Upon immigrating to Israel, he changed his name (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 350)

17.1.3 *Wayehi introducing temporal clause*

Occasionally *wayehi* serves to introduce a temporal clause rather than functioning as a finite verb. The temporal information itself is generally conveyed by an infinitive construct preceded by an inseparable prefix, as in (1), or a non-verbal marker, as in (2). This type of *wayehi* construction is only rarely attested introducing new narrative sequences, as in (4). It typically appears in the middle of a storyline and does not seem to have any particular semantic significance, though it is possible that it serves to indicate a close temporal or thematic link between the directly preceding and following information. (1) and (2) exemplify this type of construction. Additionally, it may designate the resumption of the main narrative following the insertion of parenthetical information, as in (3). It usually appears in narrative, as in (1) and (3), but is additionally attested in dialogue, as in (2). When *wayehi* in this type of position conveys a temporal or logical link with the clauses immediately preceding and following it, it can be translated into English with the adverb 'then' or the conjunctions 'and' and 'so', as in the translations of (1)-(4). By contrast, if no such link is evident it is best left untranslated.

(1)

וכעבור שעה אחת ושמם הקהל עבר בכל העיר ויאסוף ויקהל אל בית הרב כל איש נכבד מכל קרואי העדה: כל הדיינים, השוחטים ואת המוכסים עם הפרנסים. ויהי כבואם אל ביתו כאיש אחד סגר את הדלת אחריהם

After an hour the community beadle went through the town and gathered all of the important members of the community into the rabbi's house: all of the judges, the ritual slaughters and the taxmen and leaders. And when they arrived at his house together he closed the door behind them (Dick 1867, 306)

(2)

"[...] הבשר אשר קניתי לי בכסף אשר נתת לי היי כרוך בעלה מכתב עתי אחד, ויהי כאשר קראתי בו לתומי, ואמצא שם את אשר בקשה נפשי [...]"

'[...] the meat that I bought with the money you gave me was wrapped in a sheet of newspaper, and when I read it all, I found what I was searching for [...]' (Nisselowitz 1875, 150)

(3)

שם האשה עגלה ושכנותיה כנו אותה בשם הווילנית, יען כי נסעה פעם אחת על קברות אבותיה לוויילנא ותשב שם כירח ימים. ויהי מדי עברה על פני גל הקורות אשר האופה יושבת שם ותתצב מעט

The woman's name was Eglah, and her neighbours called her 'The Vilnius girl', because she had once travelled to Vilnius to her ancestors' graves and stayed there for a month. And when she passed the pillars where the baker was sitting she stood there for a while (Gordon 1874b, 11)

(4)

ויהי ביום השמיני ויקם שמעון בבוקר וירא את פני מרים

And on the eighth day Simon got up in the morning and saw Miriam's face (Brandstädter 1871, 53)

In Biblical Hebrew *wayehi* can serve to introduce a temporal clause, which typically consists of an infinitive construct with a prefix or other marker. In these cases *wayehi* generally signals the sequential shift from one narrative episode to a second, the onset of a scene belonging to the main narrative after a background interlude or a close temporal link between two events (Van der Merwe, Naudé, and Kroeze 1999, 332). (5) contains a construction signalling the beginning of a new storyline, while (6) illustrates *wayehi* serving as a link between two events. The biblical and maskilic constructions mirror each other formally, but they differ from each other in that the maskilic form does not usually serve to introduce new narrative sequences. Therefore it seems that the authors of the present corpus were not as consistent and precise in their use of the form as the Hebrew Bible.

(5)

וַיְהִי אַחֲרֵי הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה וַהֲאֵלֹהִים נִסָּה אֶת אַבְרָהָם

And it came to pass after these things that God tested Abraham (Gen. 22:1)

(6)

וַתִּחְזַק בּוֹ לֶאֱכֹל לֶחֶם וַיְהִי מִדֵּי עָבְרוּ יָסַר שָׁמָּה לֶאֱכֹל לֶחֶם

She urged him to eat a meal, and so whenever he passed by he would stop there to eat a meal (2 Kings 4:8)

Rabbinic and Israeli Hebrew do not employ the construction *wayehi* in any circumstances and therefore have no parallel with the maskilic usage discussed in this entry.

17.2 *Weqatal*

17.2.1 *Wehayah introducing conditional/temporal clause*

The construction *wehayah* is sometimes attested introducing real conditional protases and temporal clauses. The use of *wehayah* in this type of setting is relatively infrequent. This is in keeping with the maskilic authors' intermittent use of the *weqatal* in general. *Wehayah* appears in narrative with present and future tense value, as in (1) and (2) respectively, and in direct speech, as in (3). These forms have no precise English equivalent because English does not possess a form whose sole purpose is to introduce a temporal clause in a nonpast setting. By contrast, the temporal clauses themselves function in a similar way to the English conjunction 'when', which indicates that one action happened at the same time as or immediately after the other. The translations of the above examples illustrate this lack of correspondence, as the Hebrew *wehayah* does not appear in the English version: only the temporal clause, with the translation value of 'when', is apparent.

(1)

וַהֲיָה כִּאֲשֶׁר צָר לָהֶם בַּלֵּילָה לְהִשְׁתַּרֵּעַ שָׁמָּה יִשְׁכְּבוּ הַנְּשֹׂאִים עַל הַשְּׁלֹחַן

And when there is not enough space for them to spread out there at night those who remain lie on the table (Braudes 1876a, 183)

(2)

והיה אם יראה כי לב הרב עוד רע עליו מבלי להתרצות לו, אז יבא

And if he sees that the rabbi is still hostile to him, and will not relent to him, he will come (Frischmann 1878, 163)

(3)

"[...] והיה אם תמצאוהו אז תעשו בו המשפט הנחרץ עליו הפעם"

'[...] and if you find him, carry out the sentence imposed on him this time' (Leinwand 1875-6, 2:110)

Biblical Hebrew frequently uses *wehayah* to introduce a temporal clause referring to a future or habitual action (Lambdin 1971, 123), as in (4). The construction can also introduce a conditional clause, as in (5). This biblical form resembles that found in the maskilic corpus. However, the two types of Hebrew differ in that this phenomenon occurs much more frequently in the Hebrew Bible than in maskilic literature. The fact that most maskilic future and habitual present temporal clauses lack this *wehayah* indicates that the authors' sporadic use of the form was largely an attempt to lend a superficial biblical flavour to their writing rather than an integral component of their language.

(4)

והיה כראותו כי אין הנער ומת

And when he sees that the boy is not here, he will die (Gen. 44:31)

(5)

והיה אם שכם תשפח את יהוה אלהיך והלכת אחרי אלהים אחרים ונעבדתם והשתחווית להם העדתי בכם היום כי אבד תאבדון

If you forget the Lord your God and follow other gods, serving them and bowing down to them, I warn you today that you will surely perish (Deut. 8:19)

Rabbinic literature does not possess the *waw*-consecutive and therefore this form does not serve to introduce present or future temporal or conditional clauses in that stratum of Hebrew, nor is there an equivalent rabbinic construction serving to signal the beginning of such a clause. Temporal clauses with habitual present value may be rendered with a conjunction such as *בזמן ש-* followed by a *qotel*, as in (6), while those with future reference are typically composed of the conjunction *לכש-* followed by a *yiqtol* (Pérez Fernández 1999, 206), as in (7). Conditional clauses with future value are usually comprised of *אם* and a *qotel* or *yiqtol*, as in (8). In this respect rabbinic usage is dissimilar to that of the present corpus.

(6)

בזמן שאדם מצטער שכינה מה הלשון אומרת

When a person suffers, what does the *Shekhinah* say? (Mishnah *Sanhedrin* 6:5)

(7)

לכשתבא אצלי אזונה

When she comes to me I shall feed her (Mishnah *Ketubbot* 12:1)

(8)

אם תקנייני - גוזרני טומאה

If you provoke me, I shall decree impurity (Babylonian Talmud *Shabbat* 17a)

Israeli Hebrew, like its rabbinic predecessor, lacks the *waw*-consecutive and constructions containing it as well as any other form serving to introduce temporal or conditional clauses. Nonpast temporal clauses typically consist of conjunctions such as *כש-* or *כאשר* followed by a *qotel* or *yiqtol*, as in (9). Future conditional clauses are generally composed of *אם* and a *yiqtol*, as in (10).

Present-day Hebrew is thus unlike the language of maskilic fiction as far as the presentation of this type of temporal clause is concerned. A comparison of (9) and (10) with (1) and (2) clearly illustrates this.

(9)

אדבר אתו כשיחזור

I'll speak to him when he returns (Glinert 1989, 128)

(10)

אם יהיה לי מספיק כסף, אקנה מכונית חדשה

If I have enough money, I'll buy a new car (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 357)

18 VOLITIVES

18.1 Imperative

18.1.1 Followed by precative particle

Some of the imperatives in the corpus are followed by the precative particle נא. This particle is typically found in direct speech, as in (1)-(3), but can also appear in narrative portions in which the storyteller is addressing the reader or a non-corporeal entity, as in (4). In direct speech it appears in the utterances of characters addressing strangers and/or social superiors, as in (1), as well as those speaking to equals, as in (2), and inferiors, as in (3). The semantic function of the particle is unclear. It does not serve to denote urgency, as it is attested in conjunction with insignificant suggestions such as that appearing in (1). It is most frequently attested in the context of respectful requests, and therefore may often serve to impart an additional element of politeness. However, it is occasionally attested in statements clearly lacking any measure of courtesy, as in (3), in which it appears in conjunction with בלע, which conveys an element of sarcasm. Alternatively, it is possible that the maskilic authors did not always attach any particular semantic significance to the particle and that it is often best left untranslated.

(1)

”סלח נא לי אדוני”

‘(Please) forgive me, Sir’ (Brand 1877, 83)

(2)

”ספרי נא מראשית דבר”

‘(Please) tell [your story] from the beginning’ (Schulman 1857-60, 1:18)

(3)

”הביטו נא וראו, ענתה העלמה בלע”

‘Look,’ replied the maiden scornfully (Brandstädter 1875, 655)

(4)

ועתה קומו-נא, עמדו-נא ימים עברתם!

And now (please) arise; stand up, bygone days! (Frischmann 1878, 157)

In Biblical Hebrew נא is commonly placed after volitionals. The precise meaning of the particle is uncertain, with scholarly opinion divided into two main groups. The first group includes Gesenius (1910, 324), Joüon (1993, 2:378), and Van der Merwe, Naudé, and Kroeze (1999, 150), who argue that נא usually signals politeness. (5) illustrates this trend. Van der Merwe, Naudé, and Kroeze (1999, 150) add that it can on occasion be left untranslated, while Gesenius (1910, 324) states that it can also be used to strengthen a threat or indicate derision, as in (6), and Joüon (1993, 2:378) suggests that it can sometimes lend an element of urgency to a command, as in (7). Lambdin (1971, 170-1) disagrees with these readings; he argues instead that נא is employed in order to signal that the preceding command is the 'logical consequence' of a previously mentioned situation, which may be introduced by the consequential linking particle הנה, as in (8). Waltke and O'Connor (1990, 578-9) suggest that the frequent appearance of נא in conjunction with 'logical particles' עתה and אם supports Lambdin's analysis. Wilt (1996) thoroughly assesses all of these positions and argues that the interpretation of Lambdin, Waltke, and O'Connor is untenable because נא is used extremely inconsistently as a marker of logical consequence. Similarly, he dismisses the view that נא can sometimes be left untranslated. Instead, he proposes that it is invariably a politeness marker, used when an inferior addresses a superior and when a speaker wishes to a) establish or enhance a relationship with, b) put emotional pressure on, or c) avoid offending the hearer. Shulman (1996, 1999) echoes this analysis, arguing that נא is used exclusively as a politeness marker. It is possible that the explanations of both groups have validity in different cases.

If Wilt and Shulman are correct, Biblical and Maskilic Hebrew correspond in that both typically employ נא as a politeness marker. In addition, Gesenius' proposal that the particle can convey disdain seems to

apply to the maskilic corpus. Finally, Van der Merwe, Naudé, and Kroeze's suggestion that the biblical particle can sometimes be left untranslated may be correct with respect to its maskilic counterpart. By contrast, the proposal of Lambdin, Waltke, and O'Connor does not seem applicable to the maskilic corpus, in which נ often appears at the beginning of an episode and does not usually appear following הנה, עתה or אם. Moreover, Joüon's proposal that the biblical נ can denote urgency does not seem to fit in with maskilic usage. Thus the maskilic use of נ corresponds most closely to the scholarly interpretation of the biblical particle as a politeness marker. This suggests that the maskilic authors had a similar understanding of its role. Alternatively, it is possible that they did not profess to know its meaning and employed it randomly merely in order to lend a biblical feel to their writing.

(5)

תִּנֶּה נָא לָהֶם כֶּכָר כֶּסֶף וּשְׁתֵּי חֲלָפוֹת בְּגָדִים

Please give them a talent of silver and two changes of clothes (2 Kings 5:22)

(6)

עֲמִדִי נָא בְּחִבְרָתְךָ וּבְרֹב כְּשָׁפֶיךָ בְּאֲשֶׁר יָנַעַתָּ מִנְעוּרֶיךָ

Now stand, with your spells and your many enchantments with which you have laboured since your youth! (Isa. 47:12)

(7)

סוּרוּ נָא מֵעַל אֹהֲלֵי הָאֲנָשִׁים הָרָשָׁעִים הָאֵלֶּה

Turn away from the tents of these wicked people (Num. 16:26)

(8)

הִנֵּה נָא רַכָּה הַיּוֹם לָעֶרֶב לֵינוּ נָא

Since the day has drawn to a close, stay the night (Judg. 19:9)

The particle נ appears in tannaitic and associated literature but is restricted to liturgical and poetic contexts (Segal 1927, 148); moreover, all attested examples appear to be biblical citations, such as that shown in (9),

which is from Psalms 118:25. The fact that the rabbinic particle is relatively scarce and formulaic means that it is not strictly comparable with its maskilic counterpart, which appears repeatedly and in a variety of direct speech contexts.

(9)

אנא ה' הושיעה נא אנא ה' הצליחה נא

Please, Lord, save, please, Lord, send prosperity (Mishnah *Sukkah* 4:5)

Everyday Israeli Hebrew does not employ the particle נא. However, occasionally formal language makes use of it following an imperative form. In such cases the particle serves to convey politeness, in the same way as the more commonly used adverb בבקשה. This convention appears similar to that of the maskilic corpus, but is used in much more restricted circumstances; in addition, the maskilic authors did not use the particle solely to denote courtesy.

(10)

שב נא וכתוב עוד, כי הספרות העברית הצעירה באמת צריכה קולות כמו שלך

Please sit and write more, for young Hebrew literature really needs voices like yours (Melamed 2004)

18.1.2 *Successive imperatives*

The most common way of conveying multiple commands in the corpus is by placing two imperatives in succession. Chains of more than two imperatives, as in (1), are attested as well but occur less frequently. Sequences of imperatives are usually connected by the *waw*-conjunctive, but can appear without an intervening conjunction. The fact that such imperative chains are employed so frequently suggests that the authors did not intend them to convey any specific semantic content: while in some cases they may indicate urgency, they often appear in contexts where no such nuance is evident. Comparison of the clearly urgent command in (1) with the insignificant

suggestion in (2) illustrates this point. Similarly, there does not appear to be any clear difference in meaning between imperatives linked by the *waw*-conjunctive and those without it. For example, the first two imperatives in (4) are linked by the *waw*-conjunctive, whereas the third and fourth are not; nevertheless, there appears to be no semantic difference between the two sequences. Conversely, many of the attested maskilic imperative chains are initiated by verbs of motion such as לך and מהר, which serve as adverbial markers. This tendency is shown in (1) and (3).

(1)

"למה תעמדי בול עץ, מהרי, רוצי, הביאי הצוענית [...]"

'Why are you standing like a block of wood, hurry, run, bring the Gypsy woman [...]' (Smolenskin 1875, 685)

(2)

"כי עתה שמע והשתומם [...]"

'So hear and be amazed now [...]' (Gordon 1874b, 15)

(3)

"מהרו וכלו מעשיכם, סורו צאו מתחת החופה [...]"

'Hurry and finish your business, go leave the wedding canopy [...]' (Dick 1867, 313)

(4)

"[...] תן לבך ושמע את אשר אספרה [...]"

'[...] pay attention and listen to what I am going to tell you [...]' (Abramowitz 1862, 60)

In Biblical Hebrew multiple commands can be conveyed with either an imperative followed by a *weqatal*, as in (5), or a chain of imperatives, as in (6) and (7). Driver (1892, 125) argues that *weqatal* is 'by far the most common construction after an imperative'. Waltke and O'Connor (1990, 529) posit that the former construction is employed when the second command represents a

temporal or logical progression from the first, while the latter is used when no such consecution is present. Shulman (1996, 104) supports this interpretation, arguing that the order of actions in imperative chains is typically unstipulated because all imperatives convey a similar degree of immediacy and urgency. Comparison of (5), in which the initial imperative is followed by a *weqatal* denoting a temporally subsequent command, with (6), which contains two imperatives referring to simultaneous actions, illustrates this distinction. Imperative chains may or may not be linked by the *waw*-conjunctive. Van der Merwe, Naudé, and Kroeze (1999, 172) suggest that the conjunction is usually employed when the speaker is addressing an inferior; (6), in which Moses addresses the Israelites, exemplifies this tendency. By contrast, when no *waw*-conjunctive is used there do not appear to be any such semantic overtones. (7), in which the speaker and addressee are of comparable status, illustrates this. In many cases, such as that shown in (6), the first imperative is a verb of motion functioning as an adverbial marker. In addition, a sequence of two imperatives joined by the *waw*-conjunctive can serve to designate a condition (Gesenius 1910, 325; Williams 1976, 35), as in (7). Thus both Biblical and Maskilic Hebrew utilise imperative sequences, frequently with a verb of motion serving as an adverbial. However, the earlier stratum of the language appears to employ imperative chains only when the actions in question are not sequential whereas the later one uses it more or less indiscriminately. The tendency of the present corpus to convey multiple commands with imperatives rather than *weqatals* may be due to the relatively scarce utilisation of the latter form in maskilic writing generally in comparison to the Hebrew Bible. In addition, the maskilic use of the *waw*-conjunctive in these settings is more common and less semantically restricted than that of the Hebrew Bible, as it frequently appears in non-urgent commands issued to addressees of the same status as the speakers. Finally, the maskilic authors never use pairs of imperatives linked by the *waw*-conjunctive to denote real conditions.

(5)

לך ואמרת אל עבדי אל דוד

Go and tell my servant, David (2 Sam. 7:5)

(6)

הִתְנַצְּבוּ וּרְאוּ אֶת יְשׁוּעַת יְהוָה

Stand firm and see the Lord's deliverance (Exod. 14:13)

(7)

וַיֹּאמֶר סוּבָה שָׁבָה כֹּה כָלְנִי אֶלְמָנִי

And he said, 'Come, sit here, So-and-so' (Ruth 4:1)

(8)

וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵהֶם יוֹסֵף בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁלִישִׁי זֹאת עֲשׂוּ (וְחִיו)

On the third day Joseph told them, 'If you do this, you will live [literally: do this and live]' (Gen. 42:18)

Rabbinic Hebrew tends to express commands with the *yiqtol*, *qotel*, or infinitive construct; it employs the imperative relatively infrequently. In the bulk of the rabbinic corpus the latter form is used only in commands to 'specific individuals' rather than in the context of legal rulings or prayer; the main exception to this is the mishnaic tractate *Avot*, in which its use is more widespread (Pérez Fernández 1999, 152). This trend contributes to a dearth of imperative chains in rabbinic literature. When such sequences do occur they are generally linked by the *waw*-conjunctive, which does not appear to carry any semantic force. (9) illustrates this trend. The only exception to this is in sequences of three or more imperatives, where all but the last one may appear without an intervening conjunction, as in (10). The rabbinic and maskilic writings overlap to some extent with respect to imperative chains, although the Mishnah, Talmud, and associated literature employ them somewhat rarely and link them by the *waw*-conjunctive except in certain set syntactic circumstances, whereas maskilic literature uses them extensively but links them with the conjunction in less of a regular fashion. Moreover, maskilic fiction contains relatively few chains of more than two imperatives in comparison with rabbinic literature. The maskilic authors' inconsistent use of

the *waw*-conjunctive more closely resembles, and thus most likely stems from, Biblical Hebrew. However, their frequent use of imperative sequences linked by the *waw*-conjunctive without the semantic distinctions present in the biblical corpus may be partially attributable to the numerous such constructions in *Avot*, with which the maskilic authors would have been intimately familiar.

(8)

הוּ מִתּוֹנִים בְּדִין וְהֶעֱמִיזוּ תַלְמִידִים הִרְבֵּה וַעֲשׂוּ סִיג לַתּוֹרָה

Be moderate in judgement and raise up many scholars and make a fence around the Law (Mishnah *Avot* 1:1)

(9)

שִׁמְעַי אוֹמֵר עֲשֵׂה תוֹרָתְךָ קֶבֶעַ אִמּוֹר מֵעַט וַעֲשֵׂה הִרְבֵּה

Shammai said, 'Make your [study of the] Law a regular habit, say little and do much' (Mishnah *Avot* 1:15)

Although Israeli Hebrew can employ either the imperative or *yiqtol* to denote second person commands, the latter is in much more common use than the former (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 44). This means that imperative chains are relatively infrequent in present-day Hebrew. When they do occur, they can be linked by the *waw*-conjunctive, as in (10), or juxtaposed without the conjunction, as in (11). There are no clear-cut semantic considerations regulating the use of the *waw*-conjunctive. Israeli Hebrew and the maskilic corpus correspond in two ways with regard to the issue under discussion. Firstly, both can employ imperative chains to convey multiple commands, and secondly, both can choose either to use or omit the linking *waw*-conjunctive without any clear semantic motivation. In this respect the maskilic corpus and current usage differ from the earlier forms of the language, and this similarity might suggest that Israeli Hebrew was informed by its maskilic antecedent. However, the comparatively uncommon use of the imperative in

present-day Hebrew contrasts with its more frequent attestation in maskilic literature.

(10)

שב וחכה

Sit and wait (Glinert 2005, 271)

(11)

"[...] לך תחפש אותה, תביא איתה [...]"

'[...] go look for her, talk to her [...]' (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 386)

19 INFINITIVES

19.1 *Infinitive absolute*19.1.1 *Before finite verb of same root*

Single infinitives absolute in the corpus appearing in conjunction with finite verbs of the same root always precede the finite verbs rather than following them. In most cases the infinitive absolute immediately precedes the associated finite verb; however, on very rare occasions a particle is attested intervening between the infinitive absolute and finite verb, as in (3). The infinitives are usually of the same *binyan* as the following finite verb. This trend can be seen in (1)-(5), which contain an infinitive absolute and finite verb in the *qal*, *pi'el*, *hif'il*, *nif'al*, and *hof'al* stems respectively. However, infinitives absolute occasionally appear in the *qal* before a finite verb of a derived stem, as in the final extract; moreover, no *pu'al* or *hitpa'el* infinitives absolute are attested in the corpus. This occasional use of *qal* infinitives absolute in conjunction with finite verbs of derived stems appears in many cases to be based on the existence of an identical form in the Hebrew Bible; for example, the choice of a *qal* infinitive absolute preceding a *hitpa'el* finite verb in (6) constitutes an instance of *shibbus* from the biblical verse shown in (13). In other cases the maskilic use of a *qal* infinitive absolute in conjunction with a derived form may be based on a mistaken analogy with a similar biblical verse. (7) may constitute such a case: it outwardly resembles the verse from Jeremiah shown in (14); however, the maskilic finite verb is a *nif'al* while its seemingly identical biblical model is a *qal*. The stem in which an infinitive absolute appears before a finite verb of the same root is of no bearing on its translation value. See 13.1.1 for a discussion of the possible translation values of infinitives absolute in this type of setting.

(1)

"[...] שמע שמעתי את כל דברך [...]"

'[...] indeed I heard everything you said [...] (Leinwand 1875-6, 1:36)

(2)

"[...] אז גרש תגרש את היהודי הארור מנחלתך [...]"

'[...] then you will expel the cursed Jew from your lands [...]' (Gottlob 1876, 250)

(3)

"[...] אסרני נא בבית אסורים כל ימי חיי, אך המת אל תמיתני —"

'[...] lock me up in prison for the rest of my life if you like, but don't kill me —' (Schulman 1857-60, 1:155)

(4)

"[...] נגלה נגלה ה' לבני האדם [...]"

'[...] the Lord was revealed to humans [...]' (Fuenn 1872, 474)

(5)

"[...] הַגִּדְ הַגִּדְ לִי כִי הֵלַךְ לְדֶרֶךְ רְחוּקָה [...]"

'[...] I was told that he had gone on a long journey [...]' (Zweifel 1860, 159)

(6)

"[...] הלא תפחד לרגעים פן פור יתפוררו מגדלינו [...]"

'[...] don't you fear sometimes lest our towers crumble [...]' (Smolenskin 1867, 10)

(7)

ואת כל אשר ראיתי עתה בהקיצי, עשה נעשה באמת

And everything that I saw now when I woke up, was really happening (Gordon 1874b, 7)

Biblical infinitives absolute precede their associated finite verbs in the overwhelming majority of cases, but are occasionally attested following them (Zohori 1990, 179). (9) exemplifies such an infinitive. In most cases there is no separation between the infinitive absolute and finite verb; however, in some cases a negative particle or, more rarely, the adverb גם or precative particle נא

may intervene between the two verbal forms (Zohori 1990, 79). (9) illustrates a finite verb and infinitive absolute separated by an adverb and preposition. Biblical Hebrew infinitives absolute found in conjunction with finite verbs can be of all seven *binyanim*. (8)-(12) contain infinitives absolute in the *pi'el*, *hif'il*, *hitpa'el*, *nif'al*, *pu'al*, and *hof'al* in turn. Infinitives absolute in some of these stems appear only rarely in the biblical corpus. Infinitives absolute are most frequently attested in the *qal*, even in some cases when preceding finite verbs of the derived stems (Zohori 1990, 178). (13) illustrates this trend: it contains a *qal* infinitive absolute followed by a *hitpa'el* finite verb.

The maskilic corpus overlaps with its biblical model in this regard in that both tend to place the infinitive absolute before the corresponding finite verb but occasionally insert a particle, usually the negator, between the verbal elements. Likewise, the maskilic practice of using a *qal* infinitive absolute in conjunction with a finite verb of a derived stem is rooted in biblical usage. However, the two forms of Hebrew diverge in that the maskilic infinitives absolute invariably precede their finite verbs while their biblical counterparts may follow them. The fact that the maskilic authors did not place infinitives after the finite verbs is likely to be rooted in the rarity of this practice in the biblical corpus. Similarly, Maskilic Hebrew differs from its biblical antecedent in that it eschews *hitpa'el* and *pu'al* infinitives absolute; again, this tendency may be attributable to the relative scarcity of biblical infinitives absolute in these stems. Thus the maskilic use of the infinitive absolute in conjunction with a finite verb of the same root largely resembles, and is therefore probably modelled on, that of Biblical Hebrew.

(8)

כִּי בָרַךְ אֲבִירְכֶךָ (וְהִרְבָּה אֲרֻבָּה אֶת זֶרְעֶךָ)

For I shall indeed bless you and multiply your seed (Gen. 22:17)

(9)

הַמַּעֲט כִּי הֶעֱלִיתֶנּוּ מֵאֶרֶץ זָבֶת חֶלֶב וְדִבֵּשׁ לְהִמִּיתֶנּוּ בַּמִּדְבָּר כִּי תִשְׁתַּחֲוּ עָלֵינוּ גַם הַשְׂתַּחֲוּ

Is it not enough that you brought us out of a land flowing with milk and honey to kill us in the desert, that you must also make yourself a prince over us? (Num. 16:13)

(10)

וְעַתָּה הִלַּךְ הַלָּכְתָּ כִּי נִכְסִיךָ וְנִכְסֵי אֲבִיךָ

And now you have left because you were longing greatly for your father's house (Gen. 31:30)

(11)

כִּי גִנַּב גִּנְבֹתַי מֵאֶרֶץ הָעִבְרִים

For I was stolen away from the land of the Hebrews (Gen. 40:15)

(12)

הִגַּדְתָּ לִּי כָל אֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתָ

I have been told everything that you have done (Ruth 2:11)

(13)

רָעָה הַתְרַעְעָה הָאֶרֶץ פֹּרַת הַתְּפֹרֶנֶת אֶרֶץ מוֹט הַתְּמוֹטָטָה אֶרֶץ

The earth is broken, the earth has crumbled, the earth has collapsed (Isa. 24:19)

(14)

כִּי עָשִׂה נַעֲשֶׂה אֶת כָּל הַדְּבָר אֲשֶׁר יֵצֵא מִפִּינוּ

For we shall indeed do everything that we have said (Jer. 44:17)

The infinitive absolute in conjunction with a finite verb is not a characteristic feature of Rabbinic Hebrew, appearing only four times in the Babylonian and Palestinian Talmud (Zohori 1990, 132). In these cases the infinitives absolute immediately precede the associated finite verb with no intervening words (Zohori 1990, 133). The attested infinitives absolute are *qals* and *pi'els*, as in (15) and (16) respectively. In this regard the maskilic corpus resembles its rabbinic antecedent more closely than the biblical text in that it

does not place the infinitive absolute after the related finite verb. However, the rabbinic phenomenon is so limited and uncharacteristic that the maskilic authors are unlikely to have been influenced by it in any significant respect.

(15)

שׁוּשׁ תְּשׁוּשׁ וּתְגַל הַעֲקָרָה

May the barren woman rejoice and be merry (Babylonian Talmud *Ketubbot* 8a)

(16)

שִׂמְחָה תְּשַׂמַּח רֵעִים הָאֲהוּבִים

Make the beloved companions rejoice (Babylonian Talmud *Ketubbot* 8a)

The infinitive absolute is not typically a productive feature of Israeli Hebrew; however, isolated forms occur in literary language (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 45) and in set phrases such as הִיא הִיא at the beginning of tales. In such cases the infinitive invariably precedes the finite form (Schwarzwald 1988-9, 109). All seven *binyanim* may theoretically be employed in such contexts, but actual attestations are extremely rare. While the infinitive absolute is employed less frequently in Israeli Hebrew than in the maskilic corpus, the two strata of the language correspond while differing from their biblical antecedent in that they never place these infinitives after the finite verb.

(17)

אָכַל אֲכָלָנוּ

We have indeed eaten (Coffin and Bolozky 2005, 45)

19.2 *Infinitive construct*

19.2.1 *Hinneḥ + infinitive with lamed*

The infinitive with ל־ appears extremely frequently throughout the direct speech portions of the corpus following the presentative particle הִנֵּה in contexts indicating that the subject intends to carry out the action of the infinitive immediately following the moment of utterance. There is generally a

modal element of desire or willingness on the part of the subject, as clearly visible in (5). This construction can be translated with the English constructions 'about to', 'going to', or 'willing to' + infinitive. In these settings הנה invariably has a pronominal suffix, typically first person common singular, designating the subject of the infinitive action. Usually the infinitive directly follows הנה, but occasionally another constituent element intervenes, as in (3). The absence of this construction from narrative is unlikely to indicate that the authors intentionally restricted it to direct speech in order to represent the vernacular; rather, it is most likely a logical result of the fact that the narrative of the corpus does not report intended future actions in general.

(1)

"[...] הנני להגידך דבר אמת [...]"

'[...] I am going to tell you the truth [...]' (Brandstädter 1878, 439)

(2)

"[...] ועתה הנני להגן עליך [...]"

'[...] and now I am going to protect you [...]' (Gottlober 1876, 302)

(3)

"[...] הנני גם לגלות לך דברים אשר לא אביתי לגלות כל עוד בחיים חיתי [...]"

'[...] I am also about to reveal things to you that I didn't want to reveal as long as I was alive [...]' (Braudes 1873, 37)

(4)

"[...] ראשית דבר, הנני להתפלל ערבית [...]"

'[...] first of all, I'm going to say the evening prayers [...]' (Mapu 1857-69, 302)

(5)

"עד חצי המלכות הנני לתת בעדך, יונתי"

'I am willing to give up to half of the kingdom for you, my dove' (Sheikewitz 1872, 115)

In Biblical Hebrew the infinitive with ל־ can be used to signal an action on the point of occurring (Waltke and O'Connor 1990, 610). Similarly, the particle הנה is frequently employed in conjunction with *qatals*, *yiqtol*s, and *qotel*s to convey a sense of immediacy (Bendavid 1971, 550-1) and sometimes preparedness (Van der Merwe, Naudé, and Kroeze 1999, 330). However, הנה is not attested in the biblical corpus in conjunction with an infinitive with ל־ ; thus the maskilic phenomenon cannot be directly traced to the Hebrew Bible. Nevertheless, it is possible that the maskilic authors created the construction by combining these two separate biblical usages.

(6)

$\text{הֲנִי מְבִיא אֶת הַמָּבּוּל}$

I am about to bring the flood (Gen. 6:17)

The particle הנה is not attested in Rabbinic Hebrew preceding the infinitive construct. There is an amoraic construction consisting of עומד followed by the infinitive with ל־ that serves to denote future actions (Pérez Fernández 1999, 147), but this does not appear to contain a modal element. It is clear that the maskilic construction cannot be traced to the rabbinic corpus. The fact that this phenomenon is not found in any of the canonical Hebrew sources, or in medieval texts, suggests that it may constitute another original maskilic creation.

In formal Israeli Hebrew הנה with pronominal suffixes can serve as a copula (Glinert 1989, 191); however, it is not used in conjunction with infinitives and therefore clearly was not influenced by the maskilic corpus in this regard.

19.2.2 *Negation of infinitive construct*

Unprefixed Maskilic Hebrew infinitives construct are usually negated by לֹבֵלִי , as in (1), or its rarer variant לֹבִי , as in (2). Infinitives with ל־ are invariably negated by שלא , as in (3). These two negative constructions are unevenly distributed: לֹבֵלִי is much more common and שלא is largely

restricted to set phrases traceable to post-biblical sources. However, both methods appear in narrative; thus the authors' selection of one instead of the other does not seem to be governed by conscious semantic considerations.

(1)

ואל משרתו צוה לבלתי הניח כל איש לבוא אליו

And he commanded his servant not to let anyone come see him (Braudes 1873, 25)

(2)

נשמרתי מאוד לנפשי לבלתי חלל נדרי

I took great care not to break my vow (Shulman 1873, 87)

(3)

וכבר נתנו בו כל בני כסלה את עיניהם לאספו אל ביתם ולתת לו בתור מתנה על מנת שלא להחזיר את בנותיהם

And all of the inhabitants of Kisleh had already resolved to take him home and give him their daughters as a gift not to be returned (Frischmann 1878, 160)

Biblical Hebrew infinitives construct are usually negated with לבלתי (Waltke and O'Connor 1990, 603), as in (4). The variant שלא is not attested in the biblical corpus; similarly, לבלתי is not used to negate infinitives construct but rather serves as a preposition meaning 'without', as in (5). In this respect maskilic and biblical usage overlaps in most cases. However, the maskilic employment of לבלתי and שלא in these settings is not based on biblical precedent.

(4)

המן העץ אשר צויתיך לבלתי אכל ממנו אכלת

Have you eaten of the tree of which I commanded you not to eat? (Gen. 3:11)

(5)

מי יכין לערב צידו כי <ילדו> ילדיו אל אל ישנעו יתעו לבלי אכל

Who provides the raven with its food when his young cry out to God and wander about without food? (Job 38:41)

The infinitive with ל- in Rabbinic Hebrew is negated by שלא (Pérez Fernández 1999, 144), as in (6). The particles בלי and בלתי are not used in this form of the language (Segal 1927, 134). In most cases the maskilic negation of infinitives construct corresponds to biblical rather than rabbinic convention. However, the occasional attestation of שלא in the corpus is directly traceable to the Mishnah or Talmud, as comparison of (3) and (6) illustrates. The maskilic use of לבלי does not seem to stem from either biblical or rabbinic literature; rather, it may be a further instance of the authors of the corpus adapting a biblical form for use in original settings.

(6)

לחתום אינו רשאי שלא לחתום

[Where it is the custom] to close [a benediction] it is forbidden not to close [it]
(Mishnah *Berakhot* 1:4)

In Israeli Hebrew the infinitive construct with ל- is invariably negated with לא (Glinert 1989, 294). In this respect the modern language does not correspond to that of maskilic fiction.

(7)

נוטים לא לזוז

They tend not to move (Glinert 1989, 294)

CONCLUSION

This study has shown that the verbal system of the Maskilic Hebrew prose fiction written between 1857 and 1881 constitutes a relatively homogeneous and independent system exhibiting influences from Biblical, Rabbinic, and Medieval Hebrew, similarities to Yiddish, and possible influences on Israeli Hebrew, a number of original features, and innovative uses of biblical and rabbinic forms. These characteristics are visible throughout the morphology, function, and syntax of Maskilic Hebrew verbs.

Morphology

Maskilic Hebrew morphology exhibits a mix of features from different types of Hebrew. Biblical influence on the morphology of the *qatal* is evident in the verbal *pu'al* (1.2), which can be contrasted with the clearly rabbinic *nitpa'el* (1.1).

Biblical elements in the morphology of the *yiqtol* are the consistent use of the 2fp and 3fp forms (2.4) and the verbal *pu'al* (2.2), while rabbinic features consist of the *qal yiqtol* of certain second-radical guttural roots such as אָמַחַךְ and יָלַמַח (2.5). The apocopated indicative *yiqtol* (2.1) may be attributable in part to influence from Paytanic Hebrew. The maskilic tendency to take biblical and/or rabbinic morphological phenomena and employ them in original contexts is evident in the *qal yiqtol* with a *holam* in the middle of a clause (2.3), as well as in the apocopated indicative *yiqtol* (2.1) and the *yiqtol* with the energetic or paragogic *nun* (2.6, 2.7), as these forms appear to be used in a wider range of settings than in the canonical strata of Hebrew.

The maskilic *qotel* generally resembles all earlier forms of Hebrew. However, the occasional use of the masculine plural *qotel* ending in *nun* (3.1) mirrors rabbinic rather than biblical language.

The maskilic *wayyiqtol* and *weqatal* forms are clearly modelled on Biblical Hebrew; however, the maskilic unapocopated *qal lamed he* and *hif'il wayyiqtol* (4.1.1, 4.1.2) and the *wayyiqtol* with energetic suffixes (4.1.3) or paragogic *he* (4.1.4) constitute instances of the maskilic authors using biblical

constructions in new ways or combining aspects of biblical and rabbinic usage.

With respect to volitives, the corpus follows biblical convention in its employment of the masculine singular imperative with *he* suffix (5.2.2) and its consistent use of the feminine plural imperative (5.2.1); by contrast, the maskilic unapocopated *hif'il* imperative (5.2.3) may be attributable to rabbinic influence.

The maskilic authors' infinitive forms exhibit a wide range of influences. They follow Biblical rather than Rabbinic Hebrew convention in their use of prefixed and unprefixed infinitive constructs without ל , but are closer to Rabbinic Hebrew in their tendency to employ the infinitive with ל except in temporal clauses (6.1.3). It utilises both the biblical and rabbinic forms of *pe yod* and *pe nun* infinitives with ל seemingly indiscriminately (6.1.5). The maskilic authors may have been influenced by Palestinian *piyyuṭim*, Rashi's biblical commentary, and post-talmudic midrashim in their employment of the 3ms object suffix וה in conjunction with the infinitive with ל (6.1.4). Prefixed and suffixed infinitives construct of *pe yod* and *pe nun* roots such as בִּישְׁבוּ and בִּנְשְׂאוּ (6.1.6) may be traceable to influence from rabbinic responsa. The infinitive construct with and without ל with energetic object suffix (6.1.2) and apocopated *hif'il* infinitive construct with and without ל (6.1.1) appear to constitute maskilic innovations.

In many cases the authors do not appear to have had any conscious motivations for selecting a form from one historical type of Hebrew instead of another or for creating new constructions; indeed, in some instances they employ biblical, post-biblical, and original forms seemingly indiscriminately. However, in other cases their selection of one form over the other may be intentional. Use of rabbinic morphology may sometimes symbolise spoken language or, more specifically, uneducated speech and/or Yiddish, as in the case of the masculine plural *qotel* ending in *nun*. Similarly, in some cases, such as the *qal yiqtol* with *holam*, use of biblical and rabbinic forms in new contexts may be designed to suggest prosodic features such as stress. Finally, in a minority of cases the selection of a particular form may be attributable to

shibbus: the authors' intimate familiarity with commonly read Jewish texts such as the Pentateuch, the *haftarot*, *Avot*, and the Passover Haggadah may have played some role, whether intentionally or subconsciously, in their selection of certain forms, such as the *nitpa'el* נִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה, which may be traceable to the Passover Haggadah (1.1).

Function

The functions of the Maskilic Hebrew verbal forms constitute a further indication of the language's mixed yet independent character. The *qatal* serves primarily as a marker of past tense (7.1) and irrealis (7.3); in addition, it can appear in gnomic present settings when stative roots are concerned (7.2.1). It can convey both perfective and imperfective aspect. It frequently appears in contexts in which it is functionally equivalent to the English preterite (7.1.5), pluperfect (7.1.3), and present perfect (7.1.4), as well as in the protasis and apodosis of real and irreal conditions (7.3.4, 7.3.1, 7.3.5, 7.3.2) and in past irrealis (7.3.3). In these settings it resembles all other forms of Hebrew. It can additionally be used in past progressive and past habitual contexts (7.1.2, 7.1.1). In this regard it differs from Biblical and Rabbinic Hebrew and may instead be traceable to the authors' native Yiddish. Moreover, these maskilic usages may have informed Israeli Hebrew. When appearing in the apodosis of irreal conditions and in gnomic present contexts it resembles Biblical Hebrew.

The *yiqtol* is used in indicative, modal, conditional, volitive, and irrealis settings. As an indicative it can have past, present, or future tense value (8.1, 8.2, 8.3) and usually conveys imperfective aspect. In this regard it resembles Biblical rather than post-Biblical Hebrew. However, it is also used in preterite settings (8.1.4); while this usage may be modelled on Biblical Hebrew, the maskilic phenomenon appears to be much more widespread. In modal contexts it can refer to capability (8.4.1), desirability (8.4.2), possibility (8.4.3), and uncertainty (8.4.4). It is additionally used in the protasis of real conditions (8.5.4) and in the protasis and apodosis of irreal conditions (8.5.1, 8.5.2). In these respects it mirrors both Biblical and Rabbinic Hebrew. In volitive contexts it can convey self-encouragement and second and third person

commands (8.6.2, 8.6.1, 8.6.3), thereby corresponding to all other historical forms of the language to some degree. Finally, it is sometimes employed in the presentation of past irrealis (8.5.3) and subordinate actions concurrent with finite main events (8.7.1); these usages appear to lack parallels in other forms of Hebrew.

The *qotel* is typically tensed. In this regard it resembles post-Biblical rather than Biblical Hebrew. It usually appears in indicative contexts with past, present, or future tense value (9.1, 9.2, 9.3). Moreover, it is occasionally found in the protasis of real conditions with present reference (9.4.2) and in irrealis contexts (9.4.1). When used in present, future, and conditional settings, it overlaps with Biblical and post-Biblical Hebrew. Conversely, when appearing in past progressive settings (9.1.2) it resembles only Biblical Hebrew, while in irrealis settings it may have influenced Israeli Hebrew and in present perfect progressive contexts (9.2.4) it mirrors Rabbinic Hebrew and may have informed Israeli Hebrew. In most cases the *qotel* seems to be interchangeable with the *yiqtol*; when used in gnomic present settings (9.2.1), it additionally overlaps with the *qatal*. Finally, it is used very frequently to indicate a subordinate action concurrent with a main one (9.5.1). In this respect it may have contributed to Israeli Hebrew usage. Thus, as in the cases of the *qatal* and *yiqtol*, the maskilic *qotel* shares elements with other forms of Hebrew but it does not fully correspond to any of them.

The corpus contains periphrastic forms consisting of the *qatal* of the root *ה.י.ה* and a *qotel*. These forms, which constitute a clear instance of rabbinic influence on the corpus, are used in past progressive and past habitual contexts (10.1, 10.2). *Qatals*, *yiqtols*, and *qotels* all appear in similar settings, and there is no clear reason for the use of one form instead of the other. This phenomenon constitutes further illustration of the maskilic tendency to employ forms from different strata of Hebrew seemingly indiscriminately.

The maskilic employment of the constructions *wayyiqtol*, *wayehi*, and *weqatal* represent a clear attempt to replicate the language of the Hebrew Bible. The *wayyiqtol* is used in past tense settings conveying sequential

preterite actions (11.1.3) as well as background information (11.1.4). *Wayehi* appears in narrative serving as a finite verb meaning 'was'/'were' (11.1.2) or 'became' (11.1.1). The *weqatal* is used with reference to intended and predicted future actions (11.2.2) and second and third person person commands (11.2.3), as well as appearing in the apodosis of real conditions (11.2.1). All of these uses resemble those found in the Hebrew Bible.

The cohortative, imperative, and jussive forms are all attested in the corpus. In this respect maskilic fiction resembles Biblical rather than post-Biblical Hebrew. The maskilic cohortative appears in indicative contexts with gnomic present and intended future value (12.1.1, 12.1.2); in addition, it can convey suggestions (12.1.4) and the action in the protasis and apodosis of real conditions (12.1.3). These uses largely correspond to those of Biblical Hebrew. The maskilic imperative is commonly used and can denote urgent and non-urgent commands and polite suggestions (12.2.1). It thereby overlaps with Biblical Hebrew to a greater extent than Rabbinic Hebrew and does not seem to have exerted much influence on Israeli Hebrew, in which the form is relatively uncommon. While the jussive is attested in the corpus, it appears only infrequently and solely with the roots *ה.י.ה* and *ה.י.נ* (12.3.1). This resembles Rabbinic Hebrew rather than the biblical corpus, in which use of the jussive is much more extensive. Thus the maskilic volitives, like most other aspects of the verbal system, constitute a synthesis of biblical and post-biblical features.

The corpus contains infinitives absolute as well as infinitives construct with and without *-ו*. The infinitive absolute (13.1) is relatively widespread, as in Biblical Hebrew; however, its range of usage is much more limited than that of its biblical counterpart. Infinitives construct with and without *-ו* are both found in nominal roles (13.2.1), as the complement of a finite verb (13.2.3), and in purpose and separative clauses (13.2.5, 13.2.6). Conversely, the infinitive construct without *-ו* is the only infinitive form employed in causal and temporal clauses (13.2.2, 13.2.7), while the infinitive construct with *-ו* is the only infinitive form used in epexegetical contexts (13.2.4). In these respects maskilic usage generally resembles Biblical rather than post-Biblical Hebrew.

Syntax

As in the other areas of the Maskilic Hebrew verbal system, the syntax exhibits a mixture of influences. The use of the *qatal* differs from Biblical Hebrew as it frequently serves both to introduce and continue narrative sequences (14.1, 14.2). Similarly, chains of *yiqtol*s are often used to convey successive future actions in direct speech (15.2), in contrast to Biblical Hebrew, which prefers the *weqatal*. In these regards Maskilic Hebrew is more similar to Rabbinic Hebrew.

The maskilic negation of the *qotel* (16.1) differs slightly from all other forms of the language: in contrast to its biblical predecessor, Maskilic Hebrew frequently employs both \neg and \neg to negate this form.

The maskilic use of the *wayyiqtol/wayehi* (17.1) and *wehayah* (17.2) clearly stems from Biblical Hebrew, but the maskilic authors employ these constructions much more rarely and unsystematically than the Hebrew Bible. It seems that the maskilic forms, unlike their biblical equivalents, are not an intrinsic element of the verbal system but rather a device used occasionally to lend the texts a biblical flavour. This may suggest that the maskilic authors were influenced by rabbinic narrative structure, as well as possibly by Yiddish and the European languages whose fiction served as their literary models.

The syntax of the maskilic volitives (18) corresponds largely to that of Biblical Hebrew, although the present corpus appears to employ sequences of imperatives (18.1.2) more commonly than the Hebrew Bible.

The maskilic corpus resembles Biblical Hebrew in its frequent use of the infinitive absolute (19.1); however, it typically employs this form only preceding a finite verb, whereas in Biblical Hebrew it can appear in a wider variety of syntactic settings. The negation of the unprefixing infinitive construct mirrors Biblical Hebrew, while that of the infinitive with \neg resembles Rabbinic Hebrew (19.2.2). However, the maskilic use of the precativ particle \neg directly followed by an infinitive with \neg to convey immanency or willingness (19.2.1) appears to be an original construction.

Concluding remarks

This analysis of the Maskilic Hebrew verbal system has clarified four key points. Firstly, Maskilic Hebrew contains substantial elements of biblical morphology and syntax. Sometimes the maskilic authors' use of such features is identical to that found in the biblical corpus; however, in many cases, although the forms can be traced back to Biblical Hebrew, the ways in which they are employed in the maskilic corpus differ from the biblical model. These differences may sometimes be the product of the maskilic authors' conscious manipulation of the biblical text for their own purposes, such as conveying the feel of colloquial speech. At other times, the deviations may be the result of the maskilic authors taking biblical principles and adapting them inadvertently. Moreover, the technique of *shibbus*, which many scholars have considered the chief factor shaping Maskilic Hebrew usage, actually appears to account for only a small percentage of the biblical forms and constructions appearing in the corpus.

Secondly, the corpus exhibits a significant number of rabbinic morphological and syntactic features. The maskilic authors may have consciously chosen to use some such features as a symbol of uneducated speech or the Yiddish vernacular. However, in many cases there is no indication of a conscious semantic motivation underlying the authors' selection of rabbinic elements: they are used inconsistently and often appear to be interchangeable with their biblical equivalents. These findings suggest that, despite the maskilic authors' own conscious aversion to post-Biblical Hebrew, with regards to the verbal system they occasionally made intentional use of rabbinic features for specific purposes, and in addition their intimate familiarity with rabbinic forms and usage resulted in them being subconsciously influenced to a significant extent by that stratum of the language.

Thirdly, the corpus contains a few morphological elements deriving from different varieties of Medieval Hebrew. It is unclear whether the use of such forms was conscious or unintentional. Moreover, some syntactic features seem to resemble the authors' Yiddish vernacular. The authors' expressed

distaste for Yiddish, combined with the fact that such features appear in narrative as well as direct speech, suggest that these resemblances are likely to have been the result of subconscious influence. Some of these Yiddish elements may have been transferred from the language of Maskilic Hebrew fiction into the newly vernacularised Hebrew of early Zionist-era Palestine and thence into present-day Israeli Hebrew, though alternatively it is possible that these elements entered Israeli Hebrew directly from Yiddish.

Fourthly, the corpus exhibits certain forms and usages that seem to lack an exact parallel in any other previous or subsequent stratum of Hebrew or other relevant languages. Such forms are in some cases the result of the maskilic authors adapting a biblical or rabbinic feature for use in new contexts or combining elements of biblical and rabbinic morphology within the same word. Although there is no indication that these original maskilic phenomena were created intentionally, they are attested throughout the corpus and therefore it is difficult to interpret them as simple errors. The existence of the same original features throughout the corpus may be attributable to the fact that the maskilic authors moved in the same circles and read each others' work.

Thus, although the Maskilic Hebrew verbal system contains elements of a variety of earlier types of Hebrew, it constitutes a relatively cohesive independent entity that does not fully resemble any other form of the language. This clearer insight into the nature of the Maskilic Hebrew verbal system can be used as the basis for an analysis of the language of Maskilic Hebrew fiction as a whole and contribute to a fuller understanding of the diachronic development of the Hebrew verbal system.

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